

TO THE  
READERS OF THE REGISTER,

*On the present Prospect with regard  
to Reform.*

Kensington, 25th April, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

THAT which I am now about to address to you, naturally connects itself with my remarks and opinions on the same subject in the *last Register*. A week has now passed since that *Register* was written; I have, during this week, very carefully attended to the contents of the London papers, and especially of those papers which are looked upon as being decidedly in the interest of the Ministers; I have heard that which is *talked* by the friends and hangers-on of the Ministry; in short, I have had as good an opportunity as most men of learning what is our present prospect with regard to reform; and I now explicitly say, that I see no reason whatever for changing the opinions on this subject; which opinions I fully and frankly expressed in the *last Register*; which opinions amounted in substance to this; namely, that GREY *would not make the peers*; that he *would not quit his place*, and tell the nation that the King would not let him make the peers; that he *would take the bill with the 10l. clause altered*; that the *House of Commons would agree to that*; that they *would beg Grey to keep his place*; and that *he would keep it*.

Now, I have seen nothing to induce me to change this opinion; but on the contrary, a great deal to fix it more

firmly in my mind. And, first, I have very narrowly watched to see whether any of the ministerial papers *took up the subject* and *gave a contradiction to my suspicions*, which suspicions are acknowledged to be very generally entertained, and which have been *promulgated* by the "NATIONAL POLITICAL UNION," and, indeed, *had been promulgated* by them before my *Register* appeared. If Lord GREY had *not uttered* the words ascribed to him, the report would have been contradicted instantly; and, if his intentions had not been such as I ascribed to him, how eager would his papers have been to call me slanderer! In the case of *Irish coercion*, ALTHORP hastened to eat up the words of Grey! No such haste *now*; and all the slaves of the press, so busy and so noisy upon other occasions, when the Ministers are to be defended, are now silent in sign of conscious guilt; except, indeed, the base and prostituted *Courier*; and that tells us, that it was "*always aware that some changes in the bill would be necessary.*"

Then, the *political gossip*! This is one way in which the THING works. It has always, upon occasions like this, a parcel of *talkers* and *pulse-feelers* at work. They go about, and are at once, *preachers* and *spies*. Their business is to prepare people's minds for what the THING has it in contemplation to do; and to collect information to communicate to the THING relative to the views and intentions of the people. They are furnished to a certain extent with a knowledge of the THING's views and designs; they are enabled and authorised to say what has been told them by my Lord HUMBUG; and what the "noble lord" said at *breakfast* or *dinner* the other day, or in a letter dated from HUMBUG HALL. By these means, they get to pass for *persons of weight*; and they frequently obtain thus an influence over men ten thousand times their superiors in knowledge and talent; and they not very unfrequently actually set such

men in motion, and obtain in this way a popular cry in favour of what ought to receive popular execration. These tools of the THING are intimate with all the newspaper editors, reporters, and pamphlet-mongers and publishers; and thus, these are set in motion: the country newspapers look to those of this corrupt and infamous source as to a guide; and it has not only frequently, but generally happened, that the whole kingdom has by these low and villanous means, been deluded and betrayed; and to this very cause we have to ascribe no small part of the Debt and of the ruin and misery of the people.

Nothing is a stronger proof in corroboration of my suspicions than the conduct of the *Morning Chronicle*, the editor of which (Dr. Black) is upon terms of great personal intimacy with some of the Ministers; and especially with Vaux and ALTHORP. Now, this I know, as well as I know that the Cabinet Council meets at Whitehall. Look at the *Chronicle*, then, ever since the speech of LORD GREY was made. It has offered no explanation of it: it has not hinted at a denial of the correctness of the reports: it has crammed its columns with *lucubrations* about all sorts of things, except the thing now at issue: this day (Wednesday), for instance, it has two whole columns from the DOCTOR'S pen, being a review of a review of PARSON NARES'S stupid and lying book about the PROTESTANT REFORMATION; and, not a single word about the intentions of the Ministers as to the Reform Bill. When my last *Register* came out, the Doctor extracted a passage from it, putting before the extract the following preface:

"In the following passage there is much ingenuity; but the person who will be most surprised at discovering what a Machiavelian Earl Grey is, will be his Lordship himself. Mr. Cobbett assumes, we think, a great deal too readily that the Tories are indifferent to the pickings which corruption has left to us, and charity to the Ministers requires us to believe that their arming the police and increasing the army had better motives than are assigned to them. The Reform Bill re-

quired agitation; but agitation may lead to disturbances; and it behoves those who are responsible for the Government of the country to see that the cause of Reform is not injured by the alarm caused by disturbances. A popular administration can venture on bolder measures than one which is distrusted; and hence Ministers have been enabled to make preparations for the preservation of the peace of the country, which will be adequate to the object, and thereby deprive the anti-reformers of a means of wounding the good cause. If we thought Ministers acted on the plan attributed to them in the following extract, WE SHOULD BELIEVE THEM TO BE MONSTERS."

Now, Doctor, I wish that that charity which led you to believe that the Ministers had "better motives in arming the police and increasing the army," had carried you a little further, and induced you to name those "better motives." I have been able to discover no other motives than those assigned by me. Numerous persons (millions) are of my opinion, and it would therefore have been "charity" to us to have put us at our ease on this account. Your defence of these measures is of the real Whig STAMP. The army may be augmented in time of peace; the police may be armed with swords; because the "administration is popular!" This is the old Whig impudence. It was despotism in the Stuarts to have a standing army in time of peace; but no despotism in the Whigs, who soon had a far greater, which has never ceased since, and which they have always augmented when they had the power. Upon the same principle it was quite laudable IN THEM to pass the Riot Act, the audacious Septennial Bill, and to establish the infernal excise, which, when they were last in power, they attempted to carry into private houses! They are "popular," they are "liberal," and therefore "they may venture on bolder measures than an administration that is distrusted!" To what a point must a man have duped himself before he could have talked thus! [Was there ever a crew so com-



pletely distrusted as this? Was there ever one of whom the mass of the people had so bad an opinion! Dr. BLACK really seems to deem the WHIGS as exempted from all political pledges and ties, as RALPHO deemed the "Saints" from all moral obligations. Put WHIGS for "Saints," and TORIES for "the wicked," and we have Ralpho and Doctor Black uttering the same sentiments.

The WHIGS may do the same things by  
Right, and in sincerity,  
Which the TORIES are tempted to,  
And at the devil's instance do;  
And yet the actions be contrary,  
Just as WHIGS and TORIES vary.  
For, as on land there is no beast  
But in some fish at sea's exprest;  
So in the TORIES there's no vice  
Of which the WHIGS have not a spice;  
And yet that thing that is good in  
The one, in th'other is a sin.

Doctor Black does not perceive, that the day of this *impudent humbug* is gone, never to return; that the nation has now the sense to know, that both factions are the same *as towards it*; and that they have, in fact, always been the same, and that they have now, as far as this goes, one and the same feeling. A pretty story indeed, that GREY has augmented the army, and put swords into the hands of his police, to "deprive the anti-reformers of the means of wounding the good cause!" What fools; what asses; what beasts, this man must think the people of England! But, DOCTOR, if you should think the Ministers "monsters" if you thought my suspicions just, why did you not try your hand, in order to show them to be unjust? This is what their friend ought to have done; and not the smallest attempt have you made to do it; and this, indeed, this silence of yours, is one of the strongest presumptive proofs of the correctness of my opinions. Besides, what have you now (Wednesday morning) before you? The proceedings of the meeting at LEEDS, of that at GLASGOW, of that at NEWCASTLE, of that at DUDLEY; of the LONDON POLITICAL UNION: you have before you all these, every meeting expressing the same

suspensions; and yet you utter not a word in defence of your "popular Ministry."

But, let me now come to another matter, which, in my opinion, confirms my suspicions completely, as to the main point, at least. This main point was, the intention, which I thought the Ministers had, to give up the ten-pound clause. And, here, before I go any further, I will insert an article (enclosing a letter) which I wrote last Saturday (21st of April,) after my *Register* had gone to press.

To the People of Birmingham, and to the Reformers in all the great towns.

Bolt-court, Fleet-street, Saturday, 21st April, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,—Be on the alert! Look out sharply; or you will, I am convinced, see all the apprehensions expressed in my *Register* of this day verified to the fullest extent. The following letter has been sent to me, in consequence of the writer having read, in my *Register* of this day, that I could not help having my fears that some at least of the *Political Unions* would not, upon this occasion, act as they ought to do. First read the letter, and then hear, if you please, a word or two from me.

"London, 21st April, 1832.

"SIR,—I quite agree with you in opinion respecting the Ministers and the Reform Bill; that they intend to exclude the working people there can be very little doubt; but you seem to think that the 'Unions' may take part with the Ministers; this would be very base indeed, yet I am fearful that your opinion is but too well founded; for on Wednesday afternoon, while I was in a bookseller's shop, a gentleman came in and said to the bookseller, 'Well, what think you now? you see the second reading is carried;' to which the bookseller replied 'that he had been so busy that he had not thought about it, but should be glad when the bill was carried through;' I joined in and said, that I was sorry to see the remarks of Lord GREY respecting the 10*l.* suffrage, and that I would rather the bill should be lost, than that the qualification should be

“ raised ; on which the gentleman said,  
 “ ‘ *Why, I do not know : we ought to*  
 “ ‘ *take as much as we can get, for it is*  
 “ ‘ *impossible to get the whole ; and you*  
 “ ‘ have no idea how difficult it is to  
 “ ‘ keep the people together.’ I said  
 “ that I did not think so ; to which he  
 “ replied that ‘ *he knew how difficult it*  
 “ ‘ *was ; for that he had a great deal to*  
 “ ‘ *do with them :*’ and then he said that  
 “ he came from Birmingham. Now,  
 “ if one who has so much to do with  
 “ the working people can submit to the  
 “ alteration in the ten-pound qualifica-  
 “ tion, I fear your suspicions are but  
 “ too well founded, as I said before ; yet  
 “ I hope that your remarks in this day’s  
 “ *Register* will rouse the people, and  
 “ defeat all those who would cheat them.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your most obedient Servant,

“ ——— ——— ”

After the Birmingham gentleman had gone out, the bookseller told my correspondent, that the *name* of that gentleman was JOSEPH PARKES. Now, if Mr. PARKES *do not deny the truth* of the statement in this letter, or *do not deny that he was the man* ; then, here ends my duty with regard to the matter ; for, it being notorious that Mr. PARKES has *constant intercourse with several of the Ministers*, the *conclusion* to be drawn from his observations is too evident to need pointing out ; and if Mr. PARKES do deny as aforesaid, then I am ready to give him *the name of the author*, who is a gentleman on whose veracity I most firmly rely, and who will, if called on, certainly repeat his statement to Mr. PARKES’s face.

WM. COBBETT.

This whole article, just as it stands here, I had printed last Saturday ; I had it put on a sheet of letter-paper, and sent off by the post of that night several copies of it, especially to BIRMINGHAM. Not knowing where Mr. PARKES lived in London, I sent a copy to Mr. PLACE and to Lord HOLLAND, both of whom, as I was told, he frequently visited. On Monday I sent off some more of the copies ; and on Saturday I sent one to Dr. BLACK. So that all

was *above-board*. I did every thing that I could do, to make the thing reach the eye of Mr. PARKES as soon as possible. Dr. BLACK published the article ; but though he must have had it on *Sunday*, at the latest, he did not publish it till *yesterday* (Tuesday) ; but he then accompanied it with the following remarks :—“ Mr. COBBETT has transmitted to us an address to the people of Birmingham (which will appear in his next *Register*). In that address *he assumes* (from some alleged conversation of Mr. JOSEPH PARKES, of that town, in a bookseller’s shop here) that Ministers are prepared to *raise the 10l. qualification*, and to *abandon the metropolitan boroughs*. We are quite sure that Mr. PARKES’s meaning has been misconceived ; and from what we know of that gentleman, we are equally certain, that the moment this meets his eye, he will explain in a satisfactory manner the allusions to the *Birmingham people* attributed to him. Mr. PARKES never could mean that the people of Birmingham, of all places, would be indifferent, either to the raising the qualification, or the abandonment of the metropolitan boroughs. But we shall allow him and the *Birmingham people* to vindicate themselves in their own way.”

Now in this article I assume nothing specific : I leave my readers to draw their own conclusions from the facts that I have stated, and from those stated by my correspondent. As to “ *vindictating the people* of Birmingham ;” against Mr. PARKES, the Doctor must mean ; for they have no *indifference* imputed to them, either by *me* or by *my correspondent*. On the contrary, my correspondent *repelled* what he deemed such imputation against them ; and spoke of the *baseness of those political unions* who should neglect their duty upon this occasion. As to Mr. PARKES himself, he may perhaps think, as the Doctor seems to think, that *some vindication is necessary* ; and, from the above assurance given by the Doctor, I did, indeed, expect to see *something from him* in the *Chronicle* of this morning



(Wednesday); but nothing from him do I see; and yet, whether he were in London or at Birmingham, he *must have seen* the article which I had written respecting him. The reader will at once perceive the cause of his not answering it directly; and if he should not answer *at all*, every one will be satisfied, that I *was right in my suspicions*.

But, there is a fact connected with this conversation with Mr. PARKES, of the greatest importance, namely, that the *Political Union of Birmingham* has (as far as we yet hear) *not moved upon this occasion*; not stirred pen or tongue! What! that COUNCIL, which, *par excellence*, was called "the COUNCIL," silent now! Silent at this juncture! Calm, still as death, or, at best, *slow as a snail*. What! this *corps d'élite* silent and still, when *every one else* is in alarm and on the alert! Flat, torpid, as the *bridge-jobbers* and "*improvement*"-jobbers, in the City! Torpid as CHARLEY'S Corporation with CHARLEY'S Lord Mayor at the head of it! Every one who knows CHARLEY'S City, knows very well, that those who fatten on the roast there, *hate reform* as much as the boroughmongers do, and as much as Burdett and Hobhouse do. These have all one common feeling, and one common interest: the City-THING is just like the other, only *smaller*: it has its DEBT, its PENSION and SINECURE list, its RETIRED ALLOWANCE list: it has its TAX-GATHERERS: it has its LOANS; and, in short, it is another THING, only less in size; but, in proportion to its size, it has as much to lose by Parliamentary Reform as the GREAT THING has; and it always consults and co-operates with the GREAT THING. But, even this THING, a THING to the bottom of its very soul, is *beginning to move now*! From MORPETH to CHICHESTER the reformers are moving; but, *not a word do we hear from those of Birmingham*; not a word does that famous "council" put forth; that famous leader of the nation; that famous "*light in the wilderness*;" that famous body, who tendered King William four hundred thousand men in arms

to aid him in carrying the Reform Bill! Ah! it had an *Envoy auprès de la CHOSE*; it had an *Envoy to the THING*. It would be curious to get at protocols of Mr. PARKES! We may guess at them, however; we see the effect of them; and here is a full confirmation of *all my suspicions*! What, GLASGOW, MORPETH, NEWCASTLE, LEEDS, MANCHESTER (where they are just going to hold a *public meeting*), and DUDLEY, all sending up remonstrances on the subject of the *ten-pound clause*, and *Birmingham silent*! One would think that the shouts of indignation from *Dudley* would break the slumbers of the BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL. Ah! I am right; and so will say the whole nation.

But, Doctor BLACK, it is now THURSDAY; and on TUESDAY you said, "We are QUITE SURE that Mr. PARKES's meaning has been *misconceived*; and, from what WE KNOW of that gentleman, we are EQUALLY CERTAIN that, the moment this meets his eye, he will explain, in a satisfactory manner, the allusions to the Birmingham people attributed to him." I can have no doubt that Mr. PARKES saw my *circular last Sunday*. It was, on Sunday, in the hands of Mr. PLACE, Lord HOLLAND, and in your hands, Doctor. On the same day it was in the hands of Mr. THOMAS ATTWOOD, Mr. CHARLES JONES, and Mr. GEORGE EDMONDS, of and at Birmingham. Mr. PARKES was on that day either at Birmingham or in this infernal and all-corrupting and blasting WEN; or, at any rate, he was within twenty-four hours' post-shot of one or the other: yet he has *not explained*! Doctor, do not be *quite so sure* another time, in a case like this; nor, indeed, in any case wherein you *differ from me*. Experience ought to have taught you more caution in this case. I do not, to be sure, *talk* with Ministers, as you do; they do not *tell me* anything; but I do not want any of their tellings: I do not want to hear their lies; and as to the *truth*, I can discover that quite soon enough without their tellings. Better

never see any of them again, Doctor, if you have a mind to be right.

" . . . What! See Sir ROBERT! Hum;

" And *never laugh* for all my life to come!"

What the WHIGS were in POPE's day they now are: they have still their "Sir ROBERT," or two or three of them; and, whatever Mr. PARKES may do, you will *never laugh* any more, Doctor, unless you instantly cease to "*see Sir Robert*." You are now, at this moment, *muzzled*; actually *muzzled*, as completely as any mastiff ever was. The great towns keep pouring in upon you their expressions of alarm, and you are unmoved. You *garble the reports* of the proceedings in the great towns, and you give *no opinion of your own* upon the great matter on which millions are so much alarmed. And why do you not? Not because you are a political rogue, for you are not that: not because you do not see that my suspicions were just: not because you approve of the design so clearly indicated in the speech of Lord GREY: but because you have *tacitly*, at least, *committed yourself in conversation* with some of the Ministers, or with some of their underlings. This is the true cause of your very equivocal conduct. You might still say that *my suspicions* were groundless; but you cannot say that *now*, unless you be prepared to assert that the whole nation is mad with suspicion. Take the following, which was adopted at NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE before—four days before—my *Register* appeared even in London. Look at it, Doctor; and then reproach me again for my suspicions.

" At a meeting of the Council of the " Nothern Political Union, and their " associates, held in the Music Hall, " April 18th, 1832,

" CHARLES ATTWOOD, Esq., in the Chair, " It was resolved,

" 1st. On the motion of Mr. T. Double- day, seconded by Mr. W. A. Mitchell, " That, with feelings relieved in part " from painful apprehensions for the " tranquillity, safety, and settled order " of the country, this meeting has learn- " ed the result of the second reading of " the Reform Bill in the House of Lords,

" and that, though carried by only a " small majority, it has not at any rate " been flung back in the teeth of the " people and their representatives, by a " haughty, scornful, and positive rejection.

" 2nd. On the motion of Mr. John Fife, seconded by Mr. George Abbott, " That, though unable to understand " how, upon any principles of justice or " of policy, their lordships *could* have " decided otherwise, and though the ex- " pression of any extraordinary warmth " of gratitude might, therefore, be un- " suitable in such a case, yet, consider- " ing the momentous perils which their " decision may have averted, or, at least " suspended, we deem it our duty to " offer our acknowledgments and con- " gratulations to the majority of their " Lordships' House for the adoption of " this course, in preference to another, " which might have proved in its effects " most fatal.

" 3rd. On the motion of Mr. Charles Larkin, seconded by Mr. Walsh,— " That this meeting deems it, however, " to be much more indispensably its " duty to lose no time in presenting a " petition to the House of Lords, be- " seeching and cautioning their Lord- " ships against the adoption of any " alterations in the bill, in the nature of " mutilations, or calculated to impair " its efficacy; particularly as respects " the schedules of disfranchisement and " enfranchisement, and *most especially* " *as respects the ten-pound franchise*; " alterations which they have been *most* " *painfully led to apprehend*, from " certain expressions *publicly ascribed* " *to Earl Grey*, and which, if effected, " would render the bill at once *unpopu-* " *lar and useless*—destroy all confidence " in promises and pledges—and inflame " still further that angry and dangerous " alienation of feeling between the dif- " ferent classes of society, which most " unfortunately now exists, and which " must be speedily put an end to if " society be expected to remain at " peace.

" 4th. On the motion of Mr. J. Wat- son, seconded by Mr. R. Turnbull,— " That the petition be signed by the



“Chairman on behalf of this meeting;  
“and that Lord Durham be requested  
“to present it to the House of Lords.

“5th. On the motion of Mr. Laing,  
“seconded by Mr. Dodds,—That the  
“following be the petition adopted by  
“this meeting:—

“To the Right Honourable the Lords  
“Spiritual and Temporal in Parlia-  
“ment assembled.

“The Petition of the Council, Asso-  
“ciates and Friends of the Northern  
“Political Union, in public meeting  
“assembled,

“Sheweth,

“That your petitioners have learned,  
“with feelings of satisfaction, that the  
“Reform Bill has passed through its  
“second reading in your Lordships’  
“House.

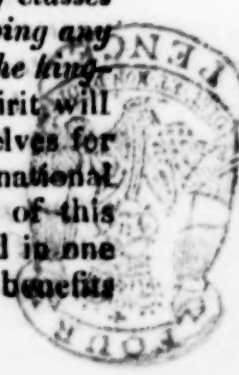
“That deriving from this circum-  
“stance an auspicious hope, that  
“through the adoption of a course of  
“effectual, though late concession, the  
“wounds of society may at length be  
“closed and healed, your petitioners  
“hasten to solicit your Lordships for  
“the realization of that hope, by pas-  
“sing the Reform Bill as speedily as  
“possible, without any alteration cal-  
“culated to impair its efficacy, by pass-  
“ing it un mutilated as respects the  
“schedules of disfranchisement and en-  
“franchisement, and most especially as  
“respects the ten-pound franchise.

“That in their acceptance of this  
“measure in its present form, the great  
“body of the people, considering them-  
“selves to have made a large and gene-  
“rous sacrifice of their feelings and opi-  
“nions to considerations of peace and  
“unity, that they would never agree to  
“any further curtailment of the extent of  
“this reform, but regarding the whole  
“bill as in that case nothing better than  
“a mockery, they would consider your  
“Lordships’ House as interdicting them  
“from the attainment of that which they  
“consider to be unquestionably their  
“right, the right of consenting to the  
“laws that rule them, by means of a  
“pure and honest, instead of a depen-  
“dent, corrupt, and fraudulent repre-  
“sentation of themselves in Parliament.

“That your petitioners, therefore, ear-  
“nestly implore your Lordships to con-  
“sent to no such alterations as above-  
“described, and especially no means to  
“raise one tittle the amount of the qua-  
“lification proposed for the elective  
“franchise.

“And your petitioners will ever pray,  
Now, Doctor, you give an *abridged*  
account of the *proceedings* of this meet-  
ing, but you take good care to suppress  
these excellent documents because they  
*hit the bird in the eye*; because they  
show that my suspicions were reason-  
able; because, in short, they show that  
the intentions of the Ministers are  
clearly seen, at *Newcastle* as well as at  
*Bolt-court*. Take the following, com-  
ing still farther north:—

“MORPETH, 23 April, 1832.—  
“REFORM.—FROM THE SPEECH  
“OF LORD GREY, ON THE THIR-  
“TEENTH INSTANT, in the HOUSE  
“OF LORDS, it would appear that the  
“TEN-POUND SUFFRAGE did not,  
“in his Lordship’s opinion, *form any*  
“*part of the PRINCIPLE OF THE*  
“*BILL OF REFORM*; and that  
“*there seems to be a disposition amongst*  
“*the Ministers to alter the bill in this*  
“*respect*.—As this is a most important  
“consideration, the people of Morpeth  
“will, it is hoped, see the anticipated  
“change in its proper light.—If the  
“right of voting for members of Parlia-  
“ment be fixed at a larger sum than  
“ten pounds, a great number of the  
“inhabitants of this town and neigh-  
“bourhood, will be totally excluded  
“from the exercise of the elective  
“franchise; the number of votes  
“throughout the whole country will be  
“greatly diminished; the right of  
“voting will be *generally placed in the*  
“*hands of large merchants, traders, and*  
“*manufacturers, who will have a direct*  
“*interest in keeping the working classes*  
“*in their employment, from having any*  
“*share in the representation of the king-*  
“*dom*; public opinion and spirit will  
“never be able to exert themselves for  
“the removal of those great national  
“grievances which the people of this  
“country wish to be rid of; and in one  
“word, the real and substantial benefits



“ which the Reform Bill, IF PASSED  
 “ AS IT NOW STANDS, would con-  
 “ fer upon all classes of the nation,  
 “ *will be completely neutralized, if the*  
 “ *rate of qualification for voting be*  
 “ *altered.*—It is in accordance with  
 “ those views, that the undermentioned  
 “ petition has been thought necessary ;  
 “ and it is hoped that the inhabitants of  
 “ this town, who are friends to the Min-  
 “ isterial REFORM BILL, will see it  
 “ their imperative duty to remonstrate  
 “ against any change which would have  
 “ the result of totally destroying the  
 “ EFFICIENCY of this salutary mea-  
 “ sure.—The undermentioned petition  
 “ is now lying at the shop of Mr.  
 “ HINDHAUGH for signatures, and will  
 “ remain there till *Monday, the 30th of*  
 “ *April.*”

“ To the Right Honourable the Lords  
 “ Temporal and Spiritual in Palia-  
 “ ment assembled.

“ The Petition of the Inhabitants of  
 “ Morpeth, in the County of Nor-  
 “ thumberland,

“ Humbly sheweth,

“ That your humble petitioners have,  
 “ in common with the great mass of the  
 “ people of Great Britain, felt a lively  
 “ interest in the great measure of Par-  
 “ liamentary Reform, which has for  
 “ some months received such ample  
 “ discussion, and which has recently been  
 “ brought into your honourable House,  
 “ and there passed the second reading ;  
 “ that your humble petitioners relied  
 “ with implicit confidence on the often-  
 “ repeated and unqualified declarations  
 “ of the promoters and conductors of  
 “ this salutary measure, that they would  
 “ not depart from the principle which  
 “ was embodied in this Bill of Reform  
 “ at its first introduction ; that your  
 “ humble petitioners conceived that the  
 “ total *disfranchisement of notoriously*  
 “ *corrupt boroughs*, the partial *disfran-*  
 “ *chisement of others less corrupt*, the  
 “ *enfranchisement of large and import-*  
 “ *ant towns* which now send no mem-  
 “ bers to Parliament, *together with the*  
 “ *10l. qualification for votes*, were the  
 “ *four principal elements which consti-*  
 “ *tuted what was meant by the princi-*  
 “ *ple of the bill* ; and in consequence of

“ this impression, your humble peti-  
 “ tioners have *with astonishment and*  
 “ *regret, heard it declared in your ho-*  
 “ *nourable House*, that the 10l. clause  
 “ *formed no part of the principle of*  
 “ *that bill of reform*, and that the pro-  
 “ moters of it intend to exercise no  
 “ parental regard over this important  
 “ clause, but *to throw it open to public*  
 “ *discussion*, and *allow it to be disposed*  
 “ *of as the general feeling of your ho-*  
 “ *nourable House might dictate.*

“ Your humble petitioners, therefore,  
 “ *conceiving the 10l. qualification to be*  
 “ *one of the most essential parts of the bill*,  
 “ do most earnestly pray your honourable  
 “ House, *not by any means to raise the*  
 “ *amount of this qualification to vote* ;  
 “ for by so doing your honourable House  
 “ would narrow the parliamentary suf-  
 “ frage all over the country, in a very  
 “ material degree, and thereby *impair*  
 “ *the efficiency of the bill*, by cutting  
 “ off from all share of civil liberty, the  
 “ whole of the *active, industrious, and*  
 “ *intelligent part of the community* ;  
 “ who would, if the suffrage remained  
 “ at the amount of 10l., have some  
 “ share in sending members to Parlia-  
 “ ment : and of such *vital importance*  
 “ do your humble petitioners *conceive*  
 “ *this 10l. qualification to be*, both to-  
 “ wards preserving the peace, and pro-  
 “ moting the permanent interests of the  
 “ nation, that your humble petitioners  
 “ would *rather see your honourable*  
 “ *House throw out the Reform Bill al-*  
 “ *together*, and *trust to the general ope-*  
 “ *ration of events* for giving the people  
 “ of this country *a more extended mea-*  
 “ *sure of reform than is even now pro-*  
 “ *posed*, than to have the qualification  
 “ *raised in the slightest degree above*  
 “ 10l. And your petitioners will ever  
 “ pray.”

In SCOTLAND, precisely the same  
 language is held : all have been alarmed  
 by the speech of GREY : all have had  
 their suspicions, their anger, their in-  
 dignation, roused by that speech ; by  
 the brazen assertion that *the 10l. clause*  
*formed no part of the principle of the*  
*bill*, and that *the qualification might be*  
*raised without trenching on that princi-*  
*ple.* At DUDLEY there has been a great



meeting, the particulars of which I have not yet received, but the bills announcing which were in the following words:—

“A Public Meeting of the Reformers of DUDLEY and its vicinity will be held at Cate’s-hill, near Cawney-hill, on Monday next, April 23d, 1832, to address the House of Lords on the Reform Bill, PARTICULARLY THE TEN-POUND CLAUSE. A Grand Procession of the Dudley Political Union will take place at One o’clock, from their Union Room, Stafford-street, to Great Bridge, to meet the following Gentlemen, with other Patriotic Friends, from Birmingham, &c. &c. &c.—Messrs. D. B. ATTWOOD, O’BRIEN, G. EDMONDS, SALT, HAYNES, and PEARCE, and return from thence through High-street and King-street to the Hustings. The Chair to be taken at Three o’clock. All well-wishers to the Cause of Liberty, and the LABOURING CLASSES, are urgently requested to attend.”

What, then, are we all a set of, a nation of, *suspicious fools*! The curious thing here is, that some of the *Birmingham Political Union Council* were to be present at this meeting! What! and *do nothing at Birmingham itself*! This is a strange affair. The Grand Mother Council obliged to *beat out* to find “people to *keep together*,” as Mr. PARKES has it! Doctor Black told us, about twelve days ago, that the BIRMINGHAM POLITICAL COUNCIL had “declared its SITTINGS PERMANENT.” I did not like this at the time: it was not sitting, but *hatching*, that the *people* stood in need of. I am afraid that Mr. PARKES, their ambassador in the WEN, has sent them down, a sitting, or as the French call it *couvée*, of addled, or rotten eggs. If so, their sittings will be *permanent* enough, and, it may be well (if the hatching do not take place in a reasonable time) if these rotten commodities be not, in the end, applied to the *tops* of the “Council,” seeing that they are not to be softened by their other extremities.

Far be it from me to impute dishonest intentions, or even lukewarmness, to

any of the members of this “Council,” but they are all to blame for suffering themselves to be *kept silent* at this time. See what difficulties men get into by communicating with the THING! The devil has not half the *cunning* that this THING has, in all matters relating to its *own interests*. But the THING misses its mark this time: it thought, that the Birmingham Union would *lead all the nation*; that we should all look to it *as a guide*; the THING, therefore, thought that it would have only to *secure that*. The devil has deceived the THING for once; and, now, the council of the Birmingham Union will be looked upon as the Thing’s *ally*; and it will have no more influence with the people at large, than will the *Westminster Rump*. Indeed it will be deemed a *Rump Council*; and though this will not be just, with regard to the greater part of the members of it, the fault will not be with the *people*, but with the council itself, who ought to have taken care not to be made a tool in the hands of the THING. If this council *now* move, it will have *no credit* for anything that it may do: its movement will be ascribed to a motive far from patriotic; and unless the members, under their own names, tell the nation the *manner in which they have been imposed upon*, and NAME ALL THE DECEIVING PARTIES, the nation will never again have the smallest confidence in them. Let us have the *letters of the ambassador*! There can be no *diplomatic secrets*; or at least I hope so. Come, come! Let us have the “*protocols*.” What! This cannot be a “*Cabinet*,” to be sure: it can have no *secrets to be kept from the people*: it was not founded on any such principle. In short, if the *cause* of this inaction in the council be not fully stated by it, it must be regarded as a tool in the hands of the THING.

Sir CHARLES WOLSELEY has published the following:

“To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

“SIR,—Through your columns I beg a communication to Mr. Cobbett, in order to gain time, and that what I

" say may get to the public eye as soon  
 " as possible ; and am your obedient  
 " servant,  
 " *Wolseley, April 22.*

" " TO WILLIAM COBBETT, ESQ.

" " DEAR SIR,—Upon a former occa-  
 " sion, when you thought '*the bill*'  
 " was in jeopardy, did I not prove to  
 " you that you were under an errone-  
 " ous impression? and were not you  
 " satisfied with the proof I gave? and  
 " do not the clauses of the *present bill*  
 " bear out the fact that '*the grand*'  
 " '*principles of the last bill would not*'  
 " '*be frittered away?*' Now, my  
 " dear Sir, with that proof fresh in  
 " your recollection, *why doubt now?*  
 " I am sure there is as little occasion  
 " for it now as then; and am yours  
 " sincerely,  
 " C. WOLSELEY.  
 " *Wolseley, April 22.'*"

Sir CHARLES does not seem to perceive that *he produces no proof now*. It is very true, that, after I had, in October and early in November last, been loudly expressing my opinion that GREY did not intend to preserve the 10*l.* clause in his next bill; it is very true, it is very true, that Sir CHARLES did do that which gave me reason to hope that the 10*l.* clause would be preserved. It was preserved; but let Sir CHARLES bear in mind that it was late in November that he did what he calls prove this to me; and this by no means proves that I was in error when I said, in October, that I thought it was the intention of the Ministers to give up the 10*l.* clause. Sir CHARLES has forgotten the old story of the Scotchman, who, having got over a gate and being pushing on towards a tree hung with apples, and being hailed by the owner with "*Where are you going?*" answered "*Only back again, mon.*" I am sure that Sir CHARLES has, thousands of times, seen a flock of rooks about to settle on a pea-field, and seen them stoop for the purpose, but see them fly off into the air again upon perceiving the gun. They do not get the peas to be sure, but he will hardly say that the farmer was in error as to their intention; and upon reflection he will hardly say that I was in error when

*I showed my gun in October last*. However, my being in error is a matter of little importance. I wish I may be in error now, and if Sir CHARLES will only produce me just such proof as that which he produced in November last, I shall begin to hope again—and the sooner he does this the better, for I can assure him that I am in anything but a hoping mood now, except as to the resolution of the people; but on that I have the firmest reliance.

I should have a great deal to say upon many points connected with this great subject, but the facts are now so pressing, in number as well as importance, that they demand all my space. Besides, the time for argument is passed. We have all made up our minds to prefer no bill at all, to a bill with the ten-pound clause altered so as to raise the qualification. The proceedings at GLASGOW, at NEWCASTLE, at LEEDS, and in LONDON, I insert the account of below. These proceedings clearly show, that any rise in the qualification will be of a most destructive tendency; that it will be the source of fresh and more vigorous agitation than ever; that the "*reformed Parliament*" will be smothered with petitions for "*Parliamentary Reform*;" that, in short, all will be discontent and confusion. This is the true state of the case, and I do beseech the Lords to consider well the probable consequences. As to Lord GREY, if he wish to carry the bill as it is, I am lending him, and all these meetings are lending him, the most efficient aid; and if he do not wish to carry the bill as it is, how can we do him more harm than he deserves to have done to him? As towards him the effect of our exertions depends wholly on himself; we are laying the foundation of a monument, either to his everlasting fame, or to his everlasting disgrace: if he carry the bill as it is, whether by making peers or without it; or, if he quit his place, explicitly telling us that he is not allowed by the King to make the peers, the former will be his rich reward; but failing in these, the latter will be his well-merited punishment.

WM. COBBETT.



P. S. Just as this was going to press, I received an account from DUDLEY, stating, that though the day of meeting was one of incessant rain, some thousands of persons attended it, and stood out the whole of the time. We shall, I suppose, have all the particulars in print in the next *Midland Representative*; but it appears, that the great anxiety of the meeting was *about the 10l. clause*. The speakers all dwelt on the *ominous expressions* in the speech of Lord GREY; and no small degree of *indignation* was expressed at the thought of *raising the qualification*. The people of DUDLEY, with intelligent and zealous men at their head, have showed an excellent spirit, and as much sense as spirit. One of the speakers said, that *if the 10l. clause were altered*, the people ought to demand more, at once; and never cease their efforts till they got it. Where *all* behave so well, it is wrong to give a preference; but bare justice to the people of DUDLEY demands that I give them particular praise.

N.B. *Mr. Parkes's letter next week*. See it in the *Morning Chronicle*.

## GLASGOW REFORM MEETING,

Held on the 12th of April, 1832.

I BESEECH my readers to go through this article with great attention, and to mark particularly the closing part of Sir D. K. SANDFORD's speech. The conduct of the Scotch has been admirable all through; and their *promptitude* above all praise. They instantly saw the thing in its true light; they saw that *action* went beyond *mere talk*, and they acted.

On Wednesday night a meeting of the Reform Association was held in the lower room of the Trades' Hall, Glansford-street, for the purpose of addressing the King, and petitioning the House of Lords to preserve the integrity of the Reform Bill in its fullest extent. William Sterling, Esq. was called to the chair. The room, long before the hour of meeting (eight o'clock), was crowded to suffocation, and hundreds had to go away who could not gain admittance—although the meeting was called as one of the association only. The windows were thrown open, and a large crowd, though it rained all the time, collected on the outside, were thus enabled to hear the proceedings.

Sir DANIEL SANDFORD suggested that, in consequence of the crowded state of the room, and from respect to the many who had to go away without being accommodated, an adjournment should take place till some other evening, when a larger place might be provided, and the meeting made a public one.

This proposal, however, was negatived, and the business proceeded.

Sir D. K. SANDFORD then rose to propose an address to the King. As one of those who had urged the present meeting, he should have felt gratified if it had assembled in a more public manner, and on an ampler stage than now, to discuss the highly important subject before them; but, as it was, he was glad that so many had come forward to give evidence of their unabated attachment to the cause which had once more brought them together. The present was one of the most important crises that had yet occurred in the history of this great measure, which for eighteen months had fixed the undivided attention of all classes in the country; and never before was the people so loudly and imperiously called on to assemble and to act with vigour in its favour. Some there were, however, who had expressed a reluctance to meet on the present occasion; and he was not surprised at the repugnance which many felt for such public exhibitions—the repugnance was not unaccountable which many felt, in these unquiet times, to the glare and bustle of popular assemblies. All who consulted their own ease and comfort—who dreaded the serpent tooth of calumny—and the fierce enmity of party on the one hand—and on the other the treacherous defection, or the cold support of seeming friends, must feel reluctant to come forward and join in the struggle, when they will inevitably be exposed to both the one and the other; but he who was determined not to shrink from his duty—who was resolved sternly to act for the public weal—who, having once put his hand to the plough, would not look back—such a man would disregard his natural repugnance to publicity, and would meet with his fellow-citizens time after time, till they had achieved the victory, and won the prize for which they had so nobly and manfully fought. However reluctant, therefore, he really felt to come before the public—and notwithstanding the many misconstructions of his former language and conduct, he had thought it right that they should meet now, were it only to congratulate themselves on the progress which the cause of reform had made—were it only to thank the King and his Ministry for their unflinching adherence to the cause, and to thank the Peers, who, even at this late period—at the eleventh hour—had, however tardily, come forward, and showed a willingness to concede some little indulgence to the wishes of the people. (Cheers.) And he heartily wished that this were all. But though the bill on which they had set their hearts had attained a stage which it had never reached before, he

could not help putting the question—was it out of danger? He wished from his very heart that the contest were over; but though none could be more willing than he was to hope for the fulfilment of the sanguine anticipations of some, who in the height of their rejoicing conceived the victory already won—he must express his own forebodings—he must state his belief that, at no period in the history of this vital measure—elated as he was at its present advancement—did there mingle with his joyful feelings so many misgivings—so much alarm—lest these hopes should, after all, be disappointed. No man ever more wished his anticipations to prove true, than he longed for his to prove false and groundless. No predictor of the millennium could hail the slightest glimpse of coming glories with more fond credulity—no Prince Hohenlohe could wait with more devoted anxiety of mind for the completion of his miraculous edicts—no votary of the unknown tongues could look with greater enthusiasm, or pant with greater earnestness, for the effusion of the spirit, than did he for the full and entire confutation of his fears by the final triumph of this bill. (Cheering.) But, alas! he had many fears. Not even when the bill was first promulgated, and when the country paused for a moment to collect its voice, and to raise it with a burst of approbation; not even when it was thrown out of the Commons by a majority of eight, on the side-wind motion of the member for Liverpool; not even when spurned by the peers; not at any of these times did he experience more fearful forebodings as to the fate of this bill than now filled his mind. He had no suspicion of the integrity of the author of this measure. He had the most deep-rooted confidence in the fidelity of Earl Grey; he felt certain that no treachery was meditated by him towards the country. All that he deemed necessary for the safety of the bill, he would do; and he was cheered by the bold and manly manner in which some of his Noble colleagues had pledged themselves to the most important part of the bill. But he could not but remember that human judgments were fallible, that different opinions were held upon the principle of this bill, and he dreaded the danger that might arise to its entireness and unity. He had never raised the cry of the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill; the term was one he had never used on any public occasion. Not that he was not for the whole bill; but he had an aversion to cant phrases, and did not wish to be the hundredth re-echoer of a cuckoo-cry. But what he had never called for before he would call for now; and he would say that he demanded that bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill, in its essence and in its spirit (cheering). He would have nothing but the life and essence of that bill (cheers). There was one great condition in the bill which could not be compromised—that part of it which extended the elective franchise to those who had hitherto

been shut out from it—and on this the principle of the measure rested. Was there anything in the history of this bill, so far as it had gone, which could lead to the conclusion that it was not the bill which was first promulgated? He would laugh at those who would say that it differed from the first introduced. The microscopic eye of a lawyer might detect discrepancies, but these were of no moment; a Wetherell or a Sugden in the House of Commons, and a Lyndhurst or a Wynford in the House of Lords, might discover what they called a want of identity in this measure with the last; but it was not from them he would take his opinion as to identity. He should like to hear these reasoners give their opinion as to the identity of a man, because he had pared off the excrescence of his nails, or shorn himself of the flowing honours of his head, or lost by exudation some portion of his personal redundances? Why, in every seven years, according to the theory of some philosophers, the whole system of the body changes, and becomes renovated, while the man is not the less the same in essence and spirit; he is the same man, for good and for evil, and should he have infringed upon the laws, he would find the fangs of law prepared to fasten, without scruple, on his personal identity (cheers, and a laugh). The vital essence of the bill was the opening up to the community the power of managing their own affairs, the extension of the elective franchise, and the disfranchisement of nomination burghs, aptly denominated rotten. What was it to him the shifting of a borough from one Schedule to another, or leaving out altogether some which had been there before—or what was it to him if some alterations were made in the representation for a few English counties? these were not the principles of the bill—they were no features of the bantling which the country had loved and dandled so much before (Cheers). But the bill, though it had not yet lost its sameness, might lose it soon. Did they believe that those noble lords who had consented reluctantly to the second reading of the bill would not concentrate all the energies of their opposition on the most essential condition of the whole? Sir Daniel then adverted to the opposition which would, without a doubt, be mustered by the Duke of Wellington, who, it seemed to him, like the Indian who believed the qualities of his fallen enemy to be transferred to himself, had imbibed the anti-British spirit of the conqueror whom he had overthrown in the field. Would not the Lords of the right reverend bench too, of whom he would speak tenderly, but of whom he must say that, though tremblingly alive to the danger, they seemed fatally blind to the best method of escaping it. He would ask that meeting—what would they do without the 10*l*. franchise? Would they have it? No. He for one would fling it in the face of any Minister who would offer it without the grand principle of a 10*l*. franchise (cheers). Many a taunt had been thrown out against



this part of the bill. Why have 10*l.*, it was asked? The question might as well be put—why have 15*l.*, or 20*l.*, or 30*l.*?—and put with equal sense. It was said that this qualification would open a wide field for bribery and corruption. That he stoutly denied; and the instances of popular elections already existing in the country could be pointed out as the best answer to the allegation; and the fact demonstrated, that it was from these places the most able and honest members were returned (cheers). It was said, “raise the qualification to 15*l.*”—that was a very small addition, and would make very little difference. He would not enter into any discussion about the relative proportion of small sums to greater—or the evil that such small sums might effect when taken in certain views; threepence was counted a small sum; but the imposition of threepence on the pound of tea lost to this country the empire of America (cheers). *Cut off the 10*l.* voters in this very place, and you lose more than one-third of those who would otherwise get the franchise. If you make it 15*l.* the franchise will be lost to 2,500 men. If you raise it to 20*l.*, your voters will lose two-thirds of their number.* He was certain he would be borne out by every landlord in saying, that the 10*l.* householders were a class every way as respectable, intelligent, and independent, as the householders of 15*l.* But after all, the best argument in favour of the 10*l.* franchise is, *that it has been promised to the country.* Lord J. Russell, on the first introduction of this great measure, promised that the electoral qualification should be extended to that class of his Majesty's subjects; and it would not do now to say, *that the King thought they should have it—that the Ministers thought they should have it—and that the Commons admitted they should have it, but that as, the Lords would not allow them to have it, therefore they should be shut out from the exercise of the privilege.* If they, in the blindness of their minds, should shut the door against that respectable class of the community, he hoped that such a storm would be raised on the outside as would shake the edifice till the portals opened and admitted them to their rightful privilege. He hoped they would agitate—he for one would not cease to agitate—till this essential part of the bill was gained. One mode, and that the most constitutional, was to go to the foot of the throne, to thank his Majesty for his patriotism in firmly adhering to the cause of his people—and humbly to implore him to use his prerogative in getting this measure passed unmutated and undefaced. As to the means of passing this measure, however, he was averse to making large additions to the peerage; he would still much rather have the Bill carried into law by conversions than by creations; an exercise of prerogative that ought never to be exercised except on the most rare emergencies. He had sympathised deeply with Earl Grey all along in his backwardness to resort to this great constitutional prerogative of the Crown. Instead of blaming

him, he sympathised in the moderation and dignified calmness evinced by this wise and prudent statesman. The balance of the constitution was above all things to be equally maintained. That balance now suffered by the Lords possessing too much of the influence of the State, and encroaching on the people; but it might be deranged by the people stepping beyond their limits, and unwarrantably encroaching on the Lords. He claimed for the peers a great and holy function in the state, and he cared not by what name they might be called—by what comparison they might be figured forth—call them a drag-chain if they would; but even a drag-chain was useful, and might prevent the vehicle from overturning in its impetuosity. He would resist anything that could by possibility weaken the efficiency and influence of the peerage. Another reason why he was averse to a creation of peers was, that it would increase their number. If they made a peer, they made an honourable family; and when they made an honourable family, they made persons who might eventually have to be supported by the purse of the state. The lords were too powerful already; he did not mean to say that the order was in the constitution too powerful; but in the framework of society their influence was too great. He was afraid that this influence on the state of society was fast reducing our country into the two great distinctions, known in certain ancient communities by the names of patrician and plebian. Society seemed fast diving into these two classes, and the most bitter opposition was beginning to manifest itself betwixt them. If, then, they were to raise men from the rank of the Commons, they ran the hazard of converting them into illiberal patricians. Yet let them call upon the King and his Ministers to use every means, consistent with the safety of the state, to ensure the passing of this bill into a law, and implore them, *that whatever they do, they do it quickly.* Time was now of the utmost importance in the consideration of this measure. All the interests of the country were suffering, and trembling on the brink of ruin during this delay. Those great interests which connected us with every country on the face of the globe were all in danger; he need but name the pregnant words—corn, currency, church, East Indies, West Indies, and, like the hand-writing that appeared on the wall of the eastern monarch's palace, they called on them to rise and take measures for their protection and prosperity, or our fortunes and national distinction were gone for ever. On looking back upon the proceedings of the present and last session of Parliament, it was found that all the attention of the Legislature had been bestowed upon this one topic, Reform—a great and important question, it was true, and deserving of the most serious consideration of that august assembly, but all other legislative measures were necessarily excluded. Let us implore them, then, to lose no time in dismissing finally this measure—to lose no

time in erecting a clear stage on which they might enact great deeds for the welfare of the country. *The House of Commons now could perform no other legislative functions in its present state; it had pronounced its own dismissal, and had signed its own death warrant.* It dared scarcely take up any great question, as it knew the country would *never be satisfied with the decision of a self-condemned and virtually extinguished body.* The learned knight concluded his speech with again calling on the meeting to implore the Legislature to cast an eye on the suffering people—suffering in their persons and purses, and without delay to pass the Reform Bill into a law. Armed with such appeals, their petitions must be triumphant. He read the Address to the King.

Mr. Joseph Miller seconded the Address, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. THOMAS DAVIDSON proposed a series of resolutions, adverting to each as he proceeded. *He insisted upon the 10l. franchise being retained.* Householding was the acknowledged constitutional franchise, and 10l. *was only received as a compromise by the people.* He differed from Sir Daniel Sandford, and thought that a creation of Peers was the only way of passing the Bill.

The Resolutions were seconded by Mr. M'Aulay without any remarks, in consequence of the crowded state of the room, and the uncomfortable situation of those placed in the open air.

Mr. THOMAS MUIR read a Petition to the Lords, which was seconded by Mr. JOHN TAIT, who remarked that he differed from Sir Daniel in the reverence he felt for the Peerage. Those who, like him (Mr. T.), were placed at the base of the social system, did not much revere the Corinthian capital; though Sir Daniel Sandford, who was half way up, might look upon it with great veneration. He hoped that the time would come when hereditary lords would not be counted part of the constitution of the country. He did not object to titles for life, when they were given as an honour for service done to the country. The bill was received as a compromise by the working classes, though it would exclude almost the whole of them from the franchise, and, though they looked upon those below 10l. as respectable, and, comparatively speaking, as intelligent as those above it.

Mr. THOMAS ATKINSON, in proposing that the Address and Petition be entrusted to Earl Grey, delivered an animated address, laudatory of the character and attainments of his Lordship. As to Mr. Tait's creed, that the House of Peers ought to form no part of the British Constitution, of course he need not say that it was no part of the creed of this Association, though, to the expression of that gentleman's individual opinion on the subject, they could have no objection.

The Meeting then separated, after giving cheers for the King, the Ministry, and the Bill.

## NEWCASTLE MEETING.

### MEETING OF THE NORTHERN POLITICAL UNION.

On Wednesday evening last (18th April) a meeting of the council and association of the Northern Political Union, and other friends of reform, was held in the Music Hall, Blackett-street, to take into consideration the propriety of sending a petition to the House of Lords, praying that their lordships would pass the Reform Bill without impairing or mutilating it, *and more especially as it regarded the clause of the 10l. franchise.* The meeting was very numerous attended; a large body arrived from the south side of the Tyne, preceded by two banners and a band of music. About half-past seven, the council took their seats in the gallery, and shortly afterwards C. Attwood, Esq. was voted to the chair.

Mr. ATTWOOD said the object of the meeting was to propose a series of resolutions on which to ground a petition to the House of Peers praying that the bill might not be mutilated in any of its essential points. After expressing his satisfaction at the ardour evinced by the society in thus coming forward on so short a notice as the council had been compelled to give them, he stated that he saw, in the conduct of the Ministers, something calculated to alarm him with regard to the sufficiency of their firmness, and especially with regard to the 10l. clause—a clause for the success of which he was remarkably anxious, because if that clause suffered any mutilation, the people would be farther removed from any control in the representation than if the bill had never passed at all. The people of England had made enough sacrifice, and must not now have the rate of franchise raised one iota higher. If the bill should be mutilated, whatever other events might arise, the bird of peace would be seen no more in this country. Mr. A. then remarked on some observations which had fallen from some of the opposition peers. It was reported to have been said by one nobleman (the Duke of Buckingham), that the ministers were controlled by political unions, who were fighting their battles under the flag of Attwood. (Cheers and laughter.) He (the chairman) was not the object of the noble duke's sneer; he was only a relative of that individual, but still he was proud of the name of a family whose exertions struck terror into the hearts of their country's enemies. If the flag of Buckingham and the flag of Attwood should come into collision, he believed the peer would be first to strike his flag (cheers), but he trusted that no war but that of words would be attendant on this mighty measure.

T. DOUBLEDAY, Esq., rose:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, in moving the resolution entrusted to me, I shall have to draw heavily upon your indulgence. I am unused to address the public, and am surrounded by friends who are accustomed to invest the valuable matter they lay before you with many of the



graces of oratory, and to fortify it by means of the arts of rhetoric. If, therefore, what I have to say shall seem homely in the comparison, I hope your kindness will make every allowance. Nay, I trust that some of you may go a step—and by taking bluntness as an evidence of sincerity, allow me to derive a little credit even out of my own defects. Mr. D. then proceeded to say, that the Reform Bill had passed the second reading in the Lords, was a subject for exultation but not for over security—it ought to act as an excitement and not to lull as a soporific—the reformers were bound to use every effort to get the bill, in all its integrity, through the committee. This was not said in derogation of Earl Grey—he had confidence in Earl Grey: because Earl Grey had, up to this hour, been a consistent, straightforward politician. He begged the meeting, and the worthy chairman especially, to remember that when, in 1819, the whigs, as Indians worship the devil through fear, prostrated themselves at Aluwick, before the Duke of Northumberland, from dread of the radicals, Lord Grey and Mr. Lambton were the honourable exceptions in this crew of recreants. Lord Grey's upright conduct, too, broke the hollow heart of the flashy sophist, Canning. He must repeat, that no stone should be left unturned to secure the bill. Did they not know that many even of those who voted for it, tried, at the same moment, to destroy its credit in the eyes of the people. Lord Wharncliffe said it would do them no good! Wellington out-heroded him, and said it would do us even pecuniary harm—that after we got it, we should be so unruly that we should have to pay a thundering army to keep ourselves in order, and have ourselves to pay taxes! Such bad boys should we be, that our pocket money would all go in buying birch rods for our own backs.—(Laughter.) This stuff would hardly do, even from the prince of Waterloo. No, no! gentlemen; no, no! Let us get our reformed parliament, our “house of delegates,” (“he thanked the Duke for teaching him that word,”) and we shall soon manage our “delegation” so as to do good to ourselves. At another time he would say more upon this important topic. What were, now, the great evils of the country?—1st. The sinecure places and pensions; 2nd. The overgrown church and its tithes, and 3rd. The astounding debt—three Medusas heads, full of snakes! He would begin with the sinecures—they came out of the pockets of the people, would they do so under a parliament “delegated” by the people? Not they—no more of clerks of green wax and pells and tallies devouring thousands of pounds for nothing! Would this be no good—to us? Let us stick to the *delegate system*, and we shall prosper.—(Cheers.) He next came to the church—what was it? A sect calling itself “national,” but not cared for by one man in ten. Its modest parsons took eight millions a year, (he said this by guess, for they would give no

account of what they got,) whilst other sects had to pay their ministers out of their own pockets, and *did do so*, and *well too*. This was England; but what was it in Ireland? Dr. Johnson called somebody a “satisfactory coxcomb”—the Irish church had not the merit of being a satisfactory humbug; it was a set of pensions under the impudent pretence of religion, where there plainly was none. Some divines divided religion in two parts, the visible and invisible church.—There was neither in Ireland: the churches had all tumbled down, and the congregations turned Roman Catholics! (Loud laughing and cheers). He next came to that pretty affair, the 800 millions of debt! Upon that head he would speak with sincerity and brave obloquy, which he knew he should get in some quarters. He begged them, if they disapproved of his arguments to put him down, for in this question there was no medium, and they must either be *very right* or *egregiously wrong*. Who borrowed this money? (A voice, “I got none of it.”) He dared say his friend told the truth, for the *English boroughmongers borrowed it*!—(Loud laughing)—and for what? To *put down reform* at home and *freedom* abroad, to *perpetuate* their own *profitable abuses*. Had they any right to saddle us and our children with this debt? He denied it flatly and in toto. He abjured the whole loan system—a nation had de facto only a life interest in the soil and property, they could not alienate nor will it away! They could not sell the country in the lump and spend the money. Now a man with a *life interest only cannot mortgage nor burthen the heir*;—this is the law of nature and civilization also. But if this was as he said, could they mortgage the blood and bones, the minds and bodies of their descendants? Monstrous idea; and yet this has been attempted by them, for before a shilling of profit or maintenance could be obtained by farmer, merchant, or manufacturer, he must first work out his share of the taxes to pay the interest of the “debt,” as it is called: this could not continue. He was for no unmerciful dispensation to the fundholders; they were innocent, and ought to be paid as far as all disposable public property could pay them: for the rest some sort of compromise must be made,—and by a reformed parliament, in time, it would be made;—the thing was inevitable, and time would prove it so. He thought he had now convinced them they would get some good out of a reformed parliament (Vehement cheering)—it was a plain conclusion, then, do all you can for “the bill.” Mr. D. then moved the first resolution, which was carried unanimously, with cheering and clapping of hands.

Mr. WILLIAM ANDREW MITCHELL followed, and said:—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen,—In seconding the motion of Mr. Doubleday, I shall only trouble you with a very few desultory remarks. Gentlemen, I am glad to see you so numerous assembled here this even-

ing, not because I have any fear that the bill will not be passed, not because I am under the slightest apprehension that the corrupt portion of the British aristocracy will again attempt to raise their heads, but because I think it necessary, and I am sure you will agree with me, that the people of England should make another strong and vigorous demonstration of their energy and their firmness, that they may thereby convince his Majesty and the House of Peers that they are as anxious as ever, that they are as sincere in their desire as ever, for this great measure of reform. (Great applause.) Gentlemen, as to the boroughmongers, I look upon them as already dead, and it only remains with you to give them a decent interment (applause and laughter); and then in the name of every thing base, corrupt, and abominable, let them be speedily and properly forgotten. To use a vulgar simile, the nail has been already driven to the head, it is only necessary with you to clinch it, and the business is complete. (Applause.) It would be idle in me to occupy your attention at any length with observations on the absurdities and imbecilities of the anti-reform peers; but there are a few points which strike me at this moment, a remark or two on which, if they do not edify, will certainly amuse. (Applause.) The Earl of Eldon made use of an argument, about which he quibbled and quirked so long that one would almost imagine there was some sense in it (loud laughter); but which, when its real meaning was discovered, came to nothing more nor less than this, that all former motions on reform—that all former reform bills which had ever been introduced into the House of Lords or House of Commons, had been thrown out, and that, therefore, the present bill ought to be thrown out also. (Laughter.) How the antiquated lawyer's fondness for precedent beguiled him into an absurdity which would draw him to the conclusion that there ought to be no improvement in any part of the globe to the present hour. The same argument would show, that the Court of Chancery ought to have been now what it was in its first imperfect rudiments—the same argument would show that the Houses of Lords and Commons should be as they were at the beginning—the same argument would show that we ought never to have passed the heptarchy, if, indeed, it allowed us the heptarchy at all, and that we never ought to have been under one sole and united monarchy,—the same argument would prove that we ourselves ought to have been at this moment naked savages, painted blue, and living in mud huts by the sea shore. (Applause and laughter.) Lord Lyndhurst says if their Lordships pass the bill—if they give the people a full and perfect representation, they will abolish the other branches of the legislature. This is a very fine compliment to the people of England, to say that as soon as they shall have acquired their renovated constitution—as soon as their constitution shall have cast off the injuries and

the corruption which time had thrown over it, they are, as it were, to cut their own throats, to destroy the very edifice which they had immortalized themselves in endeavouring to restore. (Loud applause.) But, gentlemen, history gives us instances of sound representation without any such effects. The Swedes have their Stortlings, in which they are fairly represented; there are no rotten boroughs amongst them (laughter), and yet we never heard of their attempting to abolish the King of their constitution. Then, again if we look at the United States, the people in that country have their House of Representatives, which is equivalent to our House of Commons, and the Americans have no rotten boroughs amongst them. They have also their Senate, their upper house, which is their House of Lords, and they have their President who is, in truth, nothing but a cheap King who reigns four years at a time; and yet who ever heard of any attempt of the House of Representatives to abolish their King or their House of Peers? The Duke of Wellington! gentlemen; his arguments that the property of the country did not support the Reform Bill, have been well answered as you will have seen, already, by Lord Brougham, especially as relates to the pecuniary wealth and the landed property of the country; but there is another property which also warmly supports the bill—the property of the human hands (loud applause), that property without which all other property is as nothing. Without that property, what would be the value of all your hoarded ingots and accumulated acres? That is the property which produces and tends so largely to accumulate capital; the property of labour, I do not mean that of the poor alone, for the poor, the middle classes, and the rich, are all in some respects labourers. We are all more or less labourers, and labour must and will be represented by the bill. (Loud applause.) If then the landed property, the pecuniary wealth, and the property of labour support the bill, what body of men do not give it their support, by what portion of the people is it not almost unanimously supported? (Applause.) Some hints have been given of an address respecting the creation of peers. Now I hold with my friend Mr. Doubleday, that we must strain every nerve, that we must leave no stone unturned, that we must use every legal means in our power to convince his Majesty and the House of Peers that we are resolved to have the bill in all its integrity, uninjured and unimpaired. (Applause.) I have never doubted the passing of the bill, and there is one happy result which I anticipate from that event. I may be indulging in a golden dream, but we shall see, such is my feeling and such is my hope, a greater assimilation between the government and the people. The government and the people will no longer be opponents but friends—no longer enemies but allies. Future reforms will be gradual and safe, instead of tardy and dangerous; and we shall approach more and



more to the happy time which is foretold by Holy Writ, when "the spear shall be turned into the pruning hook and the sword into the ploughshare, neither shall there be war any more; when every man shall sit under his own vine and under his own fig-tree, none rising up to make him afraid." (Great Applause.)

Mr. JOHN FIFE then rose.—Mr. Chairman, Friends and Fellow-countrymen—I did not expect to have again taken any part in the proceedings of a meeting for the purpose of petitioning the Lords after the contumelious manner in which they treated the desires, the petitions, and the rights of the people, and it would even now be more congenial to my feelings, were we to address the throne and entreat our constitutional King so to exercise his prerogative as to secure to his people the full benefit of the Reform Bill; but I do think that we owe something to the last majority of their Lordships' house for the second reading, as they have voted an advantage to the people against a direct interest of their order, in the conservation of abuses, by which a few of them absorb more of the public money than the amount of the whole rent-roll of the whole of their estates. (Cheers.) It is agreed by writers on the constitution, that to create peers for the purpose of passing any measure is to establish a dangerous precedent; but I do say that if the people are deprived of a tittle of any one of the democratic provisions of the bill by Lord Grey's conscientious scruples on this point, they have a right to conclude that their boasted constitution is a greater obstacle to the beneficence of a good minister, than it is a check on the profligacy of a bad one. Where was the constitution under the administration of Pitt or of Castlereagh? Where was the constitution when Muir and Palmer were banished and destroyed for the crime of being reformers? Where was the constitution when we could not obtain investigation of the atrocious transactions at Manchester! Where is the constitution when peers and their tools dare to set up claims adverse to the right of free election? (Cheers.) We know well that the decision of the House of Lords has delayed, if not altogether averted, calamities which it is painful to contemplate, and under this impression I propose this second resolution.—(Mr. F. then read the resolution.) As to the grounds upon which their Lordships could have done otherwise, it is declared by Blackstone to be "a high misdemeanour and breach of privilege for any peer of the realm to interfere in the elections of the Commons;" and I think that we committed a fundamental error in ever acknowledging their right to direct us in the manner of such elections. The resolution mentions gratitude, but it may be well not to inquire too curiously into motives; perhaps they remembered that about two hundred years ago the Commons declared the Upper House to be a nuisance. (Laughter.) Some might have wished for some dreaded

general insurrection, and others with more reason may have feared a peaceable but resolute evasion of the payment of taxes. (Cheers.) We have, I believe, a friend in the Cabinet, who will never compromise one iota of our rights; in his youth he was borne forward on the shoulders of the people triumphantly to assert the independence of the county of Durham. (Cheers.) in the very teeth of the most powerful union of priests and Tories that ever conspired to thrust a pensioner into Parliament. The wounds he has received from ecclesiastical calumny, like the scars of the veteran, find honour in the eyes of the people, and the standard of his reputation, which he advances so boldly in their cause, remains invincible though rent, and draws more affection from their hearts than the most unspotted lawn that ever clothed the arms of a hypocritical prelate. (Cheers.) If the prayers of millions may avail to restore the health and prolong the life of such an advocate of liberty, we shall yet see him foremost in the ranks of our champions. If I desired to raise the value of the Reform Bill in your estimation, I should merely point out the aversion in which it is held by the corrupt portion of the aristocracy: these clauses which make it valuable to you, render it hateful to them; whatever it takes from them, it gives to you. I know not whether to occupy your time in remarking on the conduct and pretences of its opponents. (Cries of "Go on, go on!")—Then first let me congratulate the anti-reforming Bishops on having such a colleague as the Duke of Cumberland (laughter); a leader whom you would have elected for them had you been asked to appoint. Perhaps those pious prelates think that under an amiable prince the rights of the people would be safe enough without any Parliament. But can they look into futurity? Can they assure us that we shall always have so good a King as William the IVth? Will they say what might be the condition of the people unprotected by a free Parliament; if after a lapse of ages the throne should be occupied by one very different? Certain Lords have good reason to complain of the press, for the reporters have made Lord Ellenborough seem ridiculous; I could not conceive where they got such stuff until my friend Mr. Doubleday pointed out some of it in Blackwood's Magazine; it admires the present House of Commons for containing so many sons of peers, proving it, according to the sarcasm of Bentham, almost as good as a second House of Lords; it delights in the number of military officers in that House, making it equal to a court martial, but it omits all mention of the original intention of the House of Commons, viz. to act as a protection to the people. (Laughter.) It laments that the bill gives no elective franchise to the labouring classes, and then asserts as its greatest evil, that it must soon lead to universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and vote by ballot. (Cheers.) The reporters ascribe most offensive language to the Mar-

quis of Buckingham, for which the ten-pound householders may requite them—his objection to the bill, that the House of Commons may become vulgar; but let him be consoled with the assurance that if the least educated people instead of their representatives were there, no speech would ever be heard within the walls of the House, below the level of his own. (Laughter.) If seven cities of ancient Greece contended for the honour of having given birth to Homer, I think that seven Newcastle men out of eight would struggle hard to disclaim, on the part of their town, the honour of having produced a certain learned lord: he eulogises things as they are, and mentions the blessings we have; and if he judges the situation of others by his own, he certainly has substantial reasons. (Laughter.) He cites the great writers who admire the constitution with all its abuses, but he omits to quote the most eloquent of those, Mr. Burke, who says, "There is a time when the hoary head of inveterate abuse shall no longer draw reverence, nor even obtain protection."—(Cheers.) There never was in this world a position at once more ludicrous and degrading than that which is now the plan of the Tory faction; having plunged this country into unjust wars, and brought it to the verge of national bankruptcy, they declared that nothing could be better, and that no reform should be granted! Hurling from power, disowned by the more virtuous part of the aristocracy, ejected from Parliament by the middle orders, derided and scorned by the labouring classes of the people, they began to stammer out that a little bit of a reform might do. (Laughter.) Thus "meanly shuffling to sneak out of the scrape they had so pompously shuffled into." Their day is past, but if, as a last effort, they spoil the bill, let us reject it with disdain. (Cheers.) No longer will I pay taxes in money. (Cheers.) Let them confiscate my land. (Cheers.) Let them seize my goods. (Cheers.) I am prepared to endure the last extremity—(cheers)—eternal banishment—(cheers)—death itself—(cheers)—rather than be the willing slave of a tyrannical, unprincipled, Tory administration. (Long-continued cheering.) Mr. F. concluded by moving the second resolution, which was seconded by Mr. Abbatt, and carried unanimously.

Mr. LARKIN then rose and said:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—When, on the rejection of the reform bill by the House of Lords in October last, I had the honour of addressing an assemblage of one hundred thousand of my fellow-countrymen on the Town Moor, I gave vent to those feelings which the conduct of that House was naturally calculated to excite in the bosom of a man who loves his country and hates oppression, in the language of indignation and of scornful reproach. I have now a more pleasing task to perform, to address in a tone of joyful expectation and in the language of congratulation and triumph. The House of Lords had passed the second reading of the Reform Bill by a majority of

nine, which they last year rejected by a majority of forty-one. One hundred and eighty-four peers have recorded their votes in favour of this great measure of popular liberty; one hundred and seventy-five have recorded their votes against it. The majority is small; still, small as it is, I hail it as an instance of the resistless force of public opinion. (Cheers.) Oh, Sir, it is difficult to resist the resolved unanimity of a nation. (Cheers.) The people have urged their demands firmly but respectfully; in a tone and with a look that could not be mistaken, and would not be resisted. (Cheers.) The thunder of the public voice has long been heard rolling in the political firmament, whose aspect has been black and lowering. I am glad that that voice has been attended to. I am glad that the House of Lords have not been rash and daring enough to rouse the slumbering passions of a mighty people, for if they had been mad enough not to heed the thunder of the people's voice, assuredly they would have perished in the lightning of the people's rage. (Loud cheering.) The hour, then, of our triumph approaches; of the triumph of wisdom over folly, of reason over obstinacy and error, of justice over injustice, of humanity over oppression, of freedom over tyranny, of the people over a boroughmongering oligarchy. (Cheers.) I rejoice at the prospect which England now has of being rescued from the thralldom of the basest domination to which proud men have ever submitted; the domination of Jews, and jobbers, and money-lenders. I rejoice at the prospect which England has now of being delivered from the tyranny of an oligarchy the most insolent which the world ever beheld, and from the pressure of an oppression the most huge under which a nation ever groaned. I rejoice at the prospect which England now has of emerging from wretchedness to happiness, from impending turbulence, insurrection and civil war, to tranquillity, contentment and peace. (Cheers.) Yes, Sir; at length, after a long and dreary night of expectation, the day-star of the British constitution is beginning to beam from on high, the waves are subsiding, the winds are hushed, and the clouds are vanishing fast. Already the purple streak of dawn is apparent in the brightening east, and ere long, I trust, the full and perfect orb of glorious liberty will rise resplendent on our eager and desiring eyes, and diffuse universal light, harmony, and joy. (Loud cheering.) This majority on the second reading of the Reform Bill I regard as a splendid victory; a victory not of war, but of peace; not of arms, but of eloquence; not of brute force, but of moral energy. When last we approached the House of Lords, we were rudely pushed from the doors, our demands rejected, our petitions spurned. We resented that rejection, we were indignant at that denial; and the Lords were taught the lesson, that the demands and petitions of the people of England could not be rejected with impunity. Did the people retire from the



House of Lords with dejected hearts and fallen countenances? No; the universal population of these realms sprung from their knees upon their feet, abandoned the posture of supplication, and assumed that of haughty determination and firm resolve. (Cheers.) And what has been the consequence? The Lords, the proud peers of England, have quailed in the presence of a resolved and united people: even Wellington has been constrained to the admission that some reform is necessary, and the Duke of Buckingham, God save the mark! (laughter)—is ready prepared with a plan of reform. The bishops, too, have begun to feel something of that wholesome fear which is the beginning of wisdom, and to tremble for their mitres. Such, Sir, is the mighty force and resistless energy of public opinion. Concession has succeeded to rude insult, respect and deference to scorn and repulsion. (Cheers.) To me the opposition which has been made to the Reform Bill in the House of Lords seems to be most unprincipled—most audacious. Secure in their hereditary privileges, possessing a negative on the voice of the people, forming a distinct order in the state, endowed with ample possessions, and adorned with titles and distinctions, it does seem to me audacious that such men should not only avow their wish, but maintain their constitutional right to keep the House of Commons in subserviency to the aristocracy. Neither the law, nor the constitution recognises any such right (cheers); and the assertion of it evinces so utter a contempt for law, and so total a disregard of the principles of that constitution which they affect so much to admire, as to amaze me by its audacity. It is a great concession to hereditary privilege, to a body of men who seem to regard their interests as quite distinct from those of the people, that the power of the House of Lords should be co-ordinate with the power of the House of Commons; but that the House of Commons should be subordinate to the House of Lords, is a degradation to which, I trust, the people of this country have too much spirit ever again to submit, nor will they ever be content till the House of Commons becomes in very truth and deed the mirror of public sentiment, and its members the representatives of the people of England, and not the nominees and delegates of the aristocracy. (Cheers.) I have now, Sir, to beg your indulgence and that of this auditory while I make a few comments on the speeches of the Bishop of Exeter and the Duke of Wellington. And first let me pay my respects to that ——— in law, the notorious Philpotts. In the debate he followed the Bishop of London, who has recommended himself to the esteem of the people by his solemn and emphatic declaration that reform is necessary for the peace and safety of the country.—The Bishop of Exeter commenced his harangue by sarcastically complimenting the Bishop of London on the disinterestedness of the vote he was about to give. Certainly, Sir,

it is very edifying to hear the mutual criminations and recriminations of these right reverend prelates. As to me, who am well known to possess the most profound respect and reverence for the bench of Bishops (loud laughter), and who in my simplicity had always thought that the snow-like purity and whiteness of their sleeves was but a feeble emblem of the still greater purity of their character. (Laughter.) I was astonished at hearing it insinuated that any portion of that sacred bench could be influenced by motives and passions so base, so sordid, so grovelling and earthly, as those of avarice and ambition. (Loud laughter.) Yet Dr. Philpotts says so, and he is an honourable man. (Great laughter and cheering.) They know one another's characters better than I do; and the Bishop of Exeter can portray with a much more correct and faithful pencil than I possess, the character of a spiritual peer. (Laughter.) But, Sir, permit me to ask, if the character of those prelates who voted in favour of the Reform Bill be, in the estimation of Dr. Philpotts, venal and corrupt, in what estimation does he think the people hold the character of those prelates who are the opponents of the bill, the advocates of injustice, the vindicators of the shameful parts of the constitution, and the bold and frontless apologists of drunkenness, gluttony, bribery, corruption, and perjury? (Loud cheers.) Oh, Sir, no doubt the man who charges the Bishop of London with the crimes of avarice and ambition, is himself completely purified from the dross of all earthly and selfish feeling—a sublimated essence of sanctity (laughter),—a very pattern of episcopal purity and Christian meekness! (Great laughter.) Who, I ask, is this man that spurns gold as dross?—whose character is the very reverse of that of Mammon, whose looks and thoughts the poet describes

“As always downwards bent, admiring more  
The riches of Heaven's pavement, trodden gold,  
Than aught divine or holy else to be enjoyed  
In vision beatific?”

—Whose looks commerce only with the skies? Who, from the elevated region of sanctity in which he dwells, looks down with an eye of superiority and contempt on the spires of Winchester cathedral, or the lofty towers of Durham abbey? Who, I ask, is the man that reads lectures on avarice, and homilies on ambition to the Bishop of London? Why, Sir, it is the disaffected, the defeated, the discomfited Rector of Stanhope. (Loud cheering.) Now, Sir, I would like to know if this pure, meek, and disinterested character had no vengeful recollection of the persons who wrested Stanhope from his grasp? Does he not recollect that it was Earl Grey and the pre-ent Ministry, who, in obedience to the public voice loudly and indignantly expressed, would not suffer him to hold that rich rectory in conjunction with the see of Exeter? I should like to know whether in revenge for that act of justice he would not like to trip up the heels of the Ministry that defrauded his

keen appetite of its eager expectations? Aye, sir, I fear if my Lord of London has ambitious expectations, his Lordship of Exeter has vengeful recollections. (Loud cheers.) I pass over his defence of rotten boroughs; I pass over the obscenity of his allusions to the shameful but necessary parts of the constitution, merely remarking that these shameful parts are of a most inordinate and disproportionate magnitude, and make the constitution a sort of political monster, whose glory is in its shame; and I proceed to his representation of reform as dangerous to the existence of the establishment. This is a strange admission from a churchman—that the security of the church depends on the venality and corruption of the House of Commons. (Hear, hear.) If this representation be true, then do I say that a church whose existence is incompatible with the freedom of the people and the independence of the Commons' House of Parliament, is a public and national evil, and should be abolished. (Loud cheers.) He asserts that this granting of reform would be an infraction of the coronation oath, inasmuch as reform would weaken and ultimately destroy that establishment which the King had sworn to maintain. If so, then by a public, formal act, of the legislature, the King should be absolved from the observance of an oath which prevents him from doing justice to his subjects. (Cheers.) If that establishment be, as the Bishop of Exeter declares that it is, odious and oppressive to the people, wherefore in the name of justice should it be mentioned? If that establishment be a public benefit, it can be in no danger from reform. If it be a public evil, it is the height of oppression to maintain it. (Loud cheers.) The maintenance of any establishment, whether civil, religious, or military, in opposition to the wishes and the interests of the people, is tyranny, as they are tyrants of the most odious description who, in defiance of public opinion, support them—they are slaves who submit to them. (Loud cheers.) The public happiness, the public good, should be the great object of all legislation, of all laws, of all constitutions, of all establishments; perish every law, perish every constitution, perish every establishment that is inconsistent with the happiness, with the freedom of the people. (Vehement cheering.) Dr. Philpotts concluded his address with a solemn warning to the House to do its duty, to despise consequences, and trust to God. He invoked the God of justice to give permanency to injustice. He invoked the God of Freedom to make tyranny eternal and slavery immortal. Blasphemy and hypocrisy were mingled in that peroration in which the champion of oppression makes a solemn, deliberate appeal to Heaven, as if God were the patron of the oppressor, and not the avenger of the oppressed. (Great cheering.) The man who uttered that blasphemous peroration conceals under the robes of a bishop the heart of ———— (Cheers.) Mr. Larkin then proceeded to

comment on the Duke of Wellington's speech, but our want of space compels us to abbreviate his remarks. After contrasting his present admission of the necessity of some reform, with his former declaration that the system of government in this country was so perfect that neither the wit of man nor the intelligence of angels could improve it, and ridiculing his late discovery of some abuses in a system the most perfect that imagination could conceive; he then noticed the objections of his grace. The duke objects that the bill is subversive of the present system of representation. His grace is neither a witty nor a humorous man, though this must be intended as an humble attempt at humour. Present system of representation! Why our support of the bill is founded on this circumstance, that on the ruin and destruction of a non-representative system it erects a system of popular representation. It transfers the elective franchise from decayed and deserted boroughs to crowded and populous places, from Gatton and Old Sarum to Manchester and Birmingham. He represents the bill as a bill of disfranchisement. Certainly it disfranchises the corrupt and rotten borough, but it enfranchises the large town: it is therefore much more truly a bill of enfranchisement than one of the opposite character. But what right has the disfranchiser of the forty-shilling freeholder of Ireland to object that it is a bill of disfranchisement? (Cheers.)—He talks of innovation. What right has the great innovator, the Duke of Wellington, the man who exalted the Catholics from political degradation to civil equality with their Protestant fellow-subjects, to hold this language? He refers to Charles, to royal grants, and to prescriptions, as if they were the most sacred things in all the world. But I tell this admirer of musty parchments and hoary-headed prescriptions, that there are rights which are anterior to all charters, and can plead a higher antiquity than the most ancient prescription, which no charter, no prescription can impair or destroy, which have within them a principle of perpetual reviviscency, and will ultimately triumph over all attempts to crush and destroy them, and these rights this bill which abolishes obsolete charters, and destroys prescriptive abuses, to a great extent recognises. One of these rights is, the right of every people to govern themselves. (Loud cheers.) This is a right founded on no royal grant, but had existence before kings were—this is a right founded on no charters, but had its foundation in the nature of man before written documents had existence. From charters and prescriptions then, we appeal to the rights of man. (Cheering.) But it appears that it is not the lust of dominion, it is not the ambitious views of his grace that prompt his opposition to the bill of reform, but actually his love of the people and his admiration of cheap government! (Laughter.) Mr. Larkin here read a passage illustrative of his grace's views. Previous to commenting on



this passage, I ask why did not the duke illustrate his views by a reference to the much more splendid example of a cheap government which the United States present to the world than to the unsettled government of France, torn as it is by injustice, faction, and discord, and with the evil of a disputed succession impending over it. I deny that the government of France is, as his grace asserts, a popular government. I deny it is based on the sovereignty of the people. It is because the government of France is not popular; it is because it is not based on the sovereignty of the people that the insurrectionary spirit, that the spirit of insubordination prevails. Louis-Philippe was seated on the throne of France by a faction of moneyed men, who were more interested in the stability of the funds than in the principles of free government, and not by the voice and acclamation of the French people. He governs in accordance with the views of that moneyed interest, and not according to the views and interest of the nation. Would Poland, I ask, be at this moment enslaved, if Louis-Philippe were really King of the French?—Would that gallant people be at the mercy of a despot, within the hug of the great Russian bear, if the sympathies of the French monarch were in accordance with those of his people?—Poland, the land of the brave and the free, has been degraded, and France has been a silent, inactive spectator of that degradation, into a Russian province. Her heroes, whose blood has not flowed on the scaffold or been spilt in the field, have been exiled into Siberia; and Poland is annexed for ever—hear this absolute decree—for ever annexed to the Russian empire. The haughty despot of the north, whose tenure of life is so uncertain, that it may be terminated by the bowstring within a month, has put forth a decree, arrogating the prerogative of Omnipotence, limited not to days, to weeks, to months, to years, but extended to all eternity. He decrees an eternity of bondage to the Poles. Poland, then, has perished, because France is not free; and her government is not cheap, because Louis-Philippe reigns, as all despots reign, by force, and not by free election. The people are compelled to submit, and are plundered to furnish the means of their oppression and his domination. The duke calculated on insurrection as being a probable consequence of the rejection of the Reform Bill, and endeavoured to re-animate the faltering courage of the peers, to screw their courage up to the rejecting point, by observing that there could be no violence where there was an efficient government. Ninety men, he observed, were sufficient to put a stop to the disasters that occurred at Bristol, as soon as an officer was found to do his duty. Aye, sir, the sabre, the bayonet, the cannon, are this man's recipe for government. He knows nothing of the moral strength and force which justice and beneficence place in the hands of rulers. But is it so easy to quell an insurgent people as his military dukeship supposes? Was the insurgent populace of Paris

so easily quelled? (Cheers.) Were the revolting citizens of Brussels so easily quelled? (Cheers.) Besides, are armies always faithful? Will officers always do their duty against their country? (Cheers.) But I will no longer pursue this course of reflection. Easy as his grace supposes it to be to crush an insurgent people—easy as he supposes it to be to dragoon and bayonet them into submission, still for the sake of the people, for the sake of their lordships, for the sake of tranquillity, for the sake of the great cause of liberty itself, which has often been lost amidst the tumult and carnage, the ferocious passions and unlicensed frenzy of civil war, I rejoice that their lordships have not goaded the people into violent courses, nor exasperated the resentment of the populace into fury and desperation, by a second rejection of the Reform Bill. In the meantime, it behoves the people to be vigilant, and to guard from impairment and mutilation this great charter of their liberties. (Loud cheers.) Mr. L. concluded by moving the third resolution, which was seconded by Mr. WALSH.

Mr. J. WATSON moved that a petition, founded on the resolutions, be signed by the chairman on behalf of the meeting, and transmitted to Lord Durham for presentation.

The petition was then read by the chairman, and its adoption moved by Mr. LAING and seconded by Mr. DODD.

Previous to putting the resolutions and petition, the Chairman inquired if there were any other resolutions, when a person in the crowd proposed two, which he afterwards withdrew, and the original resolutions and petition were adopted.

Mr. DOUBLEDAY said, he ought to feel both shame and contrition for trespassing again, at so late an hour, upon their patience. (Cries of No, no, go on, go on.) He felt it, however, a matter of duty, and duty was imperative. They had done well to pass the petition of to-night, but he meant to move an address to Lord Grey urging him to create peers and *secure the integrity* of the bill. (Vehement applause.) He was glad they coincided with him in opinion. Rumours and whispers were abroad that Lord Grey was disinclined to do this: if it were so, he wondered *why*, for how could 30 or 40 more peers injure the "order."—What idea were they taught to have of a peer? Why, that he was descended from a line of great and noble persons, and had the reputation of his house to support—he was called on to be brave in soul, generous in disposition, patriotic in intention, to lead the people against foreign foes, to stand between them and domestic oppression;—now if 40 men with such qualifications were added, where was the injury? It was adding ornament to ornament, honour to honour, nobility to nobility. Was he to be told that an *over-issue* would *depreciate* the lordly currency—that they were *only valuable when rare*; the libel was not his, but this was putting them on the shelf with other rare specimens of natural his-

tory, with ouran-outangs, and-kangaroo rats. Mr. D. then moved the address, which was seconded by Mr. WATHERSON, and adopted.

The thanks of the meeting were given to the Chairman; the band played "Rule, Britannia," and "God save the King," and after some cheering the meeting dispersed.

## LEEDS MEETING.

### CREATION OF PEERS.—MEETING OF THE BOROUGH OF LEEDS.

The second reading of the Reform Bill, carried as it was by a majority of nine in the House of Lords, has produced great joy in this and the other towns of Yorkshire. But the reformers cannot be insensible to the danger which awaits this measure in its details, though its principle has now been admitted by all the three branches of the legislature,—King, Lords, and Commons. The people of Leeds, with that devotion to the cause of reform, and that anxiety for the great object of their solicitude, which have characterized their proceedings in every stage of the Reform Bill, determined to hold a meeting without delay for the purpose of addressing the King, praying his Majesty, by the exercise of his royal prerogative, to consummate this great renovation of the institution of Parliament. Accordingly, on Monday morning a requisition to the mayor was drawn up requesting his worship to call a meeting, expressed in the following terms:—

*"To the Worshipful the Mayor of Leeds."*

"We, the undersigned, respectfully request your worship to call a public meeting of the inhabitants of the borough of Leeds, on Thursday next, the 19th instant, to consider the propriety of presenting an address to his Majesty, earnestly entreating him to exercise his constitutional prerogative in a creation of peers, which shall prevent a collision betwixt the two Houses of Parliament, and ensure the passing of the Reform Bill in all its efficiency."

In the course of a few hours about 120 names of respectable inhabitants were affixed to this document, and a deputation, consisting of George Wailes, Esq., John Clapham, Esq., and Edward Baines, Esq., was appointed to wait upon his worship with the requisition that evening at six o'clock. Unfortunately, the mayor's professional engagements at a distance prevented him from receiving the application till Wednesday morning, when he requested some hours to consider the matter before he returned an answer. At one o'clock the answer arrived, and communicated a refusal to call the meeting, on the ground that, according to his worship's view, the measure contemplated would be destructive of the independence of Parliament, and subversive of the undoubted right of each branch of the legislature to deal with every question according to its own judgment, free from control by

either or both of the other branches of it. Notwithstanding this refusal, the requisitors persevered in their intention to hold the meeting on Thursday, and at 12 o'clock on that day, though the notices were not issued till near the evening of Wednesday, the meeting assembled in the Court-house, when JOHN MARSHALL, jun., Esq., was, by a unanimous vote, called to the chair.

The CHAIRMAN opened the meeting by reading the requisition and the mayor's answer. The letter was as follows:—

"Gentlemen,—I regret that the avowed object of your proposed meeting is such as to preclude me from complying with the requisition you have done me the honour to present.

"Claiming for myself the same freedom of judgment as I most willingly accord to others, I cannot consent to use the authority of my office for the furtherance of a proceeding destructive, as it appears to me, of the independence of Parliament, and subversive of the undoubted right of each branch of the legislature to deal with every question according to its own judgment, free from control by both or either of the other branches of it.

"I have the less hesitation in withholding my official sanction on this occasion, from a feeling that the want of it will be no impediment to your proceeding in such a way as you may think right.

"I am, gentlemen,

Your obedient, humble servant,

"Leeds, April 18. WM. HEY, Mayor.

"To Messrs. Wailes, Clapham, and Baines."

As soon as these documents were read, a loud cry was raised of "Adjourn, adjourn; the people cannot get in." The weather was at this time very unseasonable for an out-door meeting, and a kind of close packing, which admitted a number of those who had been excluded, restored some degree of tranquillity.

The CHAIRMAN then said—"We are once more met together to render whatever assistance it more may be in our power to give in furtherance of the great measure of reform. I hope it may be the last time, and that on the next occasion we may have to celebrate its success. (Applause.) It may appear to require some explanation why we are again so hastily called together, after the bill has just passed a second reading in the House of Lords. But I think it must be evident to all, that though many peers have voted for the second reading, it is with the intention of making important alterations in its provisions in committee,—such alterations, it is to be feared, as will lead to a collision between the two Houses of Parliament. (Hear, hear.) If such alterations were made, the consequences would be most injurious to the country, in either case, whether the Commons accepted or rejected the altered bill. If it were accepted by the Commons, we should not arrive at a satisfactory settlement of the question, and we should have a continual excitement and agitation of it. If the Commons should refuse the bill so altered,



as I have supposed, we should have a still greater degree of excitement, accompanied with so much public anxiety as would be most injurious when added to that we have already suffered from: we should have an intense animosity against the House of Peers, and an alienation of that respect and regard which ought to attach to that branch of the legislature. (Hear, hear.) Even if this course were taken, it would soon become more than ever manifest that the bill, in all its efficiency, must again be offered to Parliament, and must eventually be passed by the Peers. But it would come with a worse grace, and with a greater loss of respect and influence by that body. It remains with the Crown to prevent both the House of Peers and the country from being placed in such a dangerous position, by a creation of new peers. We must all fear that creation of peers; for the purpose of carrying a particular measure, is an exercise of the royal prerogative that should not be rashly used. It requires peculiar circumstances to warrant it, which should be clearly and distinctly made out. (Hear, hear.) I do maintain that those circumstances are, in the present instance, fully made out to the satisfaction of the most doubting. (Applause.) The measure in question has been three times before the House of Commons; the two last times before a House called expressly after an appeal to the people for their opinion on it. The measure has been long before the public, and still the same general and favourable opinion is entertained of it. It is a measure of the most vital importance to the nation, and has received the most careful consideration and examination. Its mutilation by the Peers, so as to cause its rejection by the Commons, would produce a state of things extremely dangerous to the country. The Crown acquiesces in the propriety of the measure. Any material alteration of the bill in the House of Peers would, in my opinion, after all these circumstances not only warrant, but would loudly and most forcibly call upon the Crown to exercise that prerogative with which it has so wisely been invested. (Applause.) There are some, however, and among the rest our worthy Mayor, who entertain different opinions; and it is therefore the more necessary that the question should be discussed now, when the emergency, if not actually arrived, is so near at hand. (Hear, hear.) It should not be forgotten either, that one alteration which is most certain to be proposed in the committee of the Peers, is that of raising the 10*l.* franchise still higher in such large towns as this. One of the most determined opponents of the bill stated in the House of Lords, his opinion that the 10*l.* franchise would, in the large towns, approach very nearly to universal suffrage. Now we know very well how far this is from being the case, and we know how ungracious and even how dangerous it would be to take a higher standard in such towns as these. If such alterations as these are carried in the committee,

I cannot but entertain the opinion that all the circumstances will be made out and completed that are required to authorise the Crown to make an addition to the peerage. The question ought and must be speedily settled. It is in these large manufacturing towns that we feel more than in other parts of the country the bad effects of the public anxiety on this great measure, by the loss or diminution of our usual trade. It is the more necessary for us to urge that all those constitutional steps should be taken by the King and by his administration which are necessary to bring this measure to a speedy and satisfactory termination. (Applause.)

GEORGE WAILES, Esq., said, before he made any observations to the meeting, he would read the resolution which he was about to submit to the consideration of the meeting, and which was expressed in the following terms:—

“Resolved—1. That though this meeting views with satisfaction the recognition by the House of Lords of the great principles on which the bill of reform is grounded, it cannot avoid feeling the deepest anxiety at the small majority by which it has passed the second reading, combined with the declared intention of attempting most important alterations in its provisions. That it is therefore expedient to present an address to the King, praying his Majesty, by the constitutional exercise of the royal prerogative in the creation of peers, to secure the passing of *the Reform Bill in all its efficiency*, and thereby to prevent a collision between the two houses of Parliament.”

The learned gentleman then proceeded to comment at considerable length on the argumentative refusal of the mayor to call the meeting, and to show that the reasons he had assigned why the King should not create additional peers were futile and inconclusive; and he endeavoured to show, from the premises admitted by the mayor, that it would be an exercise of the royal prerogative, not only highly expedient but absolutely necessary, to preserve the real independence of Parliament, and to give to each branch of the legislature a right to deal with every question according to its own judgment.

[The learned gentleman was here interrupted by loud and repeated cries of “Adjourn; there are great numbers of persons who cannot get in.”] After some delay the meeting adjourned into the spacious area of the cloth-hall. When the bustle produced by this movement had subsided,

Mr. WAILES resumed his observations, and, in illustration of his argument, he put the following case:—Suppose the House of Commons, in whom originate all bills of supply, should pass a bill to impose a tax, and that when it came to the House of Lords they should insert a clause exempting their own body from its operation. Well, the bill so altered is returned to the Commons, who refuse to consent to the alteration. Let us also suppose that the great body of the people are in favour of this impost, and that it hath also

the concurrence of the Crown. Both houses, let us further suppose, persist in their own measures: now would not the King, in such a juncture as this, be justified in making such an augmentation to the House of Peers as should carry into effect the wishes of the people? But the present case was much more favourable to his argument, because the Reform Bill had been the subject of discussion for fifty years; twice it had passed the House of Commons, and the principle of the bill had at length received the sanction of the House of Lords. It could not, therefore, be considered as a sudden ill-considered movement, but the deliberate opinion of the great body of the nation, expressed in the most solemn and authentic manner by a House of Commons elected with a particular reference to the very question, and since then by every other mode in which the opinion of the people can be ascertained. This measure has also the approval of the King. If under these circumstances the House of Lords could be permitted to defeat the wishes of the House of Commons, the people, and the King, we should no longer live under a limited monarchy, consisting of King, Lords, and Commons, but of an oligarchy, consisting of a majority of the House of Peers. The constitution, to remedy such a collision, has given the King the power to add to the number of the peers. The crisis foreseen has arrived; and if ever there existed a great emergency which called for the exercise of the royal prerogative, it is on the present occasion; and he was convinced that an infusion of new and better blood into that ancient house was a consummation most devoutly to be wished. He had said, on a former occasion, that the House of Lords could not constitutionally reject that bill: that was still his opinion, though he did not mean to repeat the expression which had given rise to some controversy, and the assertion was treated as if he had said that the House of Lords had not the power of giving it a negative,—that they could not say no. I did not mean to say anything so foolish: what I said was this, that it was necessary and expedient, and that they ought to have said “ay.” The learned gentleman, after putting this argument in a striking point of view, by supposing the abolition of colonial slavery to be the subject-matter in dispute between the two houses, or rather between the whole country, including the King and the House of Peers, paid a just tribute to the manly consistency of Lord Grey, who, from his first introduction into the House of Commons, to the present hour, had always been the steady advocate of parliamentary reform. After reading an extract from the *Edinburgh Review*, in answer to the question, “What will the Lords do?” which, after describing the state into which the country would be thrown by the two Houses differing upon the Reform Bill, says, that the increase of peers is the remedy which the constitution has provided for this state of things, and which is a necessary check, to

prevent the Government degenerating into an oligarchy, and making some observations on a recent speech of the Duke of Wellington, the learned gentleman concluded with proposing the resolution which he had read at the commencement of his speech.

Mr. RICHARDSON, in seconding the first resolution, said, that the meeting was under great obligations to the worthy chief magistrate of Leeds; for, though he had declined to call the meeting, he had favoured them with the most powerful argument in favour of the object they had in view, viz. the support of “the independence of Parliament,” which would be impaired if the House of Lords should succeed in throwing out or in maiming the Reform Bill, the main object of which was to restore the independence of the House of Commons. In conclusion, he exhorted the people not to allow any adverse decision on the Reform Bill to induce them to commit any breach of the peace; but by firm, peaceful, energetic, and constitutional efforts, continue to further that great cause, being assured that a measure patronized by the King, the Ministers, the House of Commons, and the people, can never be defeated by a faction in the House of Peers.

The Chairman then put the motion, when immediately a forest of hands were held up in its favour: on putting the negative, there appeared three dissentients, by which a pretty fair calculation may be made between the reformers and the anti-reformers in the borough of Leeds.

Mr. BAINES presented himself, and was received with loud plaudits. He said, our next proceeding will be to determine upon an address to be presented to his Majesty, to express the opinions that we entertain upon this subject. It affords me great pleasure to see here so many of the faces which I have been accustomed to see upon former occasions, when we have met for the purpose of soliciting for reform. (Hear.) Gentlemen, we shall assuredly accomplish our object. It may be attended with some difficulty in the attainment, but we shall not value it the less because of that difficulty. (No, no.) It has long been a matter of consideration with us; we have pressed it forward by every means in our power; and if the people of England continue to urge their suit, the bill will undoubtedly be carried without being materially altered. The Duke of Wellington and his compeers have, as you have already heard, put forth an address in the form of a protest; and in that protest he advances several propositions which I have no hesitation in declaring unfounded, and directly contrary to the truth. (Hear, hear.) I do not mean to say that the Duke has deliberately uttered a falsehood, but I do say, that he and those who have acted with him, are utterly unacquainted with the state of the country as to this great question. The Duke has said the British Government is a monarchy. I do not deny it, but I say it has popular branches as well as a monarchical principle; and therefore



it is more than a monarchy. It is a government consisting of three estates; and the estates of which this Government is constituted are, King, Lords, and Commons. (Hear, hear.) But it is unfortunately constituted of more than three, and the fourth estate is an usurpation—an oligarchy, that rules over and controls both King, Lords, and Commons. (Hear.) It is to put an end to this oligarchy that we are labouring, and therefore, when the Duke of Wellington asserts that the kingly power is every thing, he asserts that which is not true in fact, and which I hope never will be true in this country. (Cheering.) But he goes on and says "that no change, however specious, should be adopted, which would strike at the principle of the monarchy, or deprive the King of the free and independent exercise of his lawful prerogative." Nothing is more distant from us than to assail the monarchy. The duke says, we are not to assail the King's prerogative; certainly not, we are met to support it,—that is the principal object we have in view. (Hear, hear.) Well, then, if that be our purpose, I suppose the duke will hardly think we are acting in violation of the great principle that he has laid down; on the contrary, he will think that we are acting in support of that principle; because, how is this prerogative to be more fitly employed than when it is for the benefit of the people for which the prerogative was conferred? (Hear.) The duke then goes on and says, "that the Reform Bill will give a preponderating influence in the election of the House of Commons to the lowest classes of inhabitants in towns, and close the door of the House of Commons against the moneyed and the colonial interest, and against the heads of the great commercial body." Is this true? (No, no.) Is it true that this Reform Bill will give to the lower classes an undue influence? (No, no.) My opinion is, that it will not give them sufficient influence. (Hear, hear.) It deprives a great many men, who are exceedingly fit to exercise the elective franchise, of that influence which they ought to possess. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, I will prove this to you; and I will prove it, not by going to a great distance, but at home. (Hear, hear.) We happen to have in the borough of Leeds no fewer than 120,000 souls. To how many of these persons will this bill, as at present constituted, give votes? Will it give votes to half that number? (No.) Will it give votes to one-third of that number? No; out of 120,000 souls it will only give votes to about from 5,000 to 6,000. How, then, is it possible that the Duke of Wellington could stand up and assert that the consequences of this bill will be to give undue influence to the lower classes of the people? The bill itself is as large in its grants as Ministers can carry, but it is the lower class only that it deprives of influence. (Hear, hear.) Very well, then, I say that the persons who have made this assertion have made it, not in the spirit of truth, but in the spirit of error

and of falsehood. (It is.) Then there is another consideration, and it is of considerable importance, and that is, what the consequence will be if Parliament should advance the qualification of the *elective franchise* from 10*l.* to 15*l.*? Why, instead of the numbers that at present constitute the electors, they will very likely be reduced to 3,000 in Leeds, and in the same proportion in other places; and is it a fitting thing that you should have 3,000 people to elect members to represent 120,000? (No, no.) My opinion is that the franchise ought not to have been at 10*l.* but at 7*l.* (Cries of "5*l.*," and "Householders.") I hear a cry of "householders," and I don't mean to enter upon that point now, but I do mean to say, that if the franchise is to be altered at all, it ought to be made lower and not higher. (Hear, hear.) That is my decided opinion upon this subject, and I am sure you will give me credit that I don't say it to please or displease anybody. It is my practice to speak what I consider to be the truth, and every honest man ought to pursue that line of conduct. (Hear, hear.) But there is a situation in which two branches of the legislature are likely to be brought, and that it is a very curious one. It has been glanced at by Mr. Wailes in his elaborate speech, and with great spirit. We will suppose the bill having now passed the House of Commons, it comes next to pass the House of Lords: they have read it twice, and many of them have said in pretty intelligible terms that they will reduce it in its efficiency. Suppose then, that when this bill comes to be passed they say the qualification for the *elective franchise* shall be 15*l.* instead of 10*l.*, and that 30 boroughs instead of 60 shall be disfranchised, or that they resort to any other manœuvre to destroy its efficacy, how would the matter between them stand? The Commons have passed one bill and the Lords another, and they each of them are determined to support their own bill. A conference is then proposed. At that conference they both remain inflexible, and in this way a collision arises. The consequence is, that the wheels of Government would be suspended. To remedy this evil the King is applied to as the arbitrator. He cannot by his own voice settle the point at issue, but there is a mode prescribed by the constitution, and that is, the power vested in him of creating peers; by the exercise of which power on behalf of men of right principles the collision is terminated, and the two conflicting branches of the legislature will be reconciled. (Applause.) The object of the address which I shall have the honour to submit for your approbation is at once to produce this happy reconciliation, and to secure to the country the advantages of the Reform Bill in all its efficiency. (Hear.) This is our prayer to the King; and this prayer we have no doubt his Majesty will, at the proper time, of which he and his Ministers must be the best judges, grant to a loyal and dutiful people. Mr. Baines concluded amidst loud applause and clapping of hands.

Mr. BAINES then read the following address, and moved that it should be forwarded to Earl Grey for presentation to his Majesty:—

*"To the King's most Excellent Majesty.*

"The humble Address of the inhabitants of the borough of Leeds, in the county of York, in public meeting assembled, on the 19th of April, 1832.

"Sire,—You are our sheet-anchor—our refuge in the storm. The last necessity appears to be at hand. Resistance to reform and the consequent delay have unhappily produced deep injury to the most important national interests; our commerce and manufactures are already in an alarming state of stagnation; and the mutilation of the bill would issue in great public dissatisfaction, indignation, and perhaps tumult. Your Majesty fears nothing, and has nothing to fear. You wisely identify yourself with the interests of your people. We know and venerate your Majesty's paternal solicitude for the peace and happiness of your subjects. Some of the Lords in Parliament know but little of the people; they imperfectly appreciate their sentiments and their rights, and appear to misconstrue the use and constitution of their own house. Respect for the House of Peers would not be impaired, either by addition to its numbers, or by alteration of its political sentiment, which indeed has become necessary to the pure administration of public affairs.

"We, therefore, most humbly implore that your Majesty in this emergency, will, at the proper moment, by a fearless and liberal exercise of your royal prerogative (in the creation of peers), at once protect us from an oligarchy, and with the aid of your present Ministers, who alone possess the confidence of the public, secure the safety of the bill, and the conservation of the constitution."

Mr. JOSHUA BOWER, the President of the Leeds Political Union, said—I stand forward to second the address which has been moved by Mr. Baines for the adoption of this meeting. There has been so much said already on the subject on this occasion, and also at former meetings, that nothing new can be said upon it, and I should have contented myself with merely seconding the motion, if it were not for the fear that my townsmen should say Joshua Bower has grown cold in the cause of reform, and that a reaction has taken place. I shall therefore say a few words. In the first place, then, I say that so far from any reaction having taken place, into whatever company I go, whether it be of those who have been politicians 30 or 40 years, or those who have only just begun to inquire, I find that they are all more and more in favour of the Reform Bill, and that Tories are coming round more than ever, and nothing can now prevent the measure from being carried. Half of the House of Lords are now in favour of it, nay more than half; but then the bill has to go into committee, and there an attempt

may be made to raise the franchise above the 10l. householders, and it is our duty to do all we can to prevent this. I, for one, think that the franchise is now low enough; but I was willing to take what I could get. After adverting to the shortness of the notice convening the meeting, which had brought together more persons than could have been expected, he concluded with expressing his hearty concurrence in the address.

The Chairman then put the address, which was carried with only three dissenting voices.

After the address to the King had been agreed to, Mr. Wailes presented himself, and proposed that three times three cheers should be given, which was immediately complied with, amidst hearty cheering and the waving of hats.

Mr. R. HOWARD spoke in favour of the address. After stating that when this bill was first introduced he had advised the people not to be carried away by their feelings in its favour, but to look at it with an eye of patience. He said he did not intend to rescind what he then said, for he still thought that the elective franchise ought to have been given to all householders; but being convinced that the present bill was as large a measure as the Ministers could carry, he was desirous of giving it all the support in his power.

Mr. SMITHSON said that in cases of partnership where one partner was fraudulent, the other party filed a bill against him in Chancery, and he was made to give up that portion which was improperly gained, so, in this case, the bill was filed against the boroughmongers, who must soon render up their spoils. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) He should advise the non-payment of taxes in case the bill were not passed, and concluded by declaring that the proceedings of the day had his cordial approval. (Cheers.)

Mr. CLAPHAM, in moving a vote of thanks to the reformers of both Houses of Parliament, said, they were deserving the approbation of the country, for the talent, perseverance, and zeal they had displayed in support of the measure which had excited such intense feeling throughout the country. The more they contemplated the objects designed to be effected by the reform bill, the more would they be convinced that its success was intimately connected with their best interests. Mr. Clapham concluded by moving

"That the thanks of this meeting are due to his Majesty's Ministers, and to the friends of reform in both Houses of Parliament, for their persevering efforts in support of the Reform Bill."

Mr. LUS, in seconding the vote of thanks to his Majesty's Ministers and the friends of reform, for their exertions in the great cause, and its happy and successful issue on the second reading, observed, that he attributed that success mainly to the generalship of Earl Grey. He had displayed great tactic and finesse,—he had in fact obtained the second



reading not by the friends of the bill but by its avowed enemies. (Hear, hear.) By the management of Earl Grey the "waverers" had voted for the bill, *with the avowed intention of frittering it down to nothing in the committee.* How did the case really stand? There were but a majority present of two, and that majority included Lord Wharncliffe and many of his followers who go into the committee with the intention of destroying the very vitals of the bill. It is said that Earl Grey can secure it at once by a creation of peers, but it should be recollected that to exercise this prerogative to a great extent, good and sufficient reasons should be assigned, and Earl Grey had so placed the matter that by the small majority it was self-evident it could not be carried without a new creation of peers. That he had never been solicited to do, and it was for the people of this country to declare their conviction that it was necessary to be done, and by that means justifying Earl Grey in advising the King to exercise his prerogative in this great and awful emergency. (Applause.) The motion was then agreed to.

Mr. T. PLINT, jun., in proposing a motion to carry the resolutions of the meeting into effect, said—"At this late hour, Mr. Chairman, I shall not trouble you with many observations; indeed, the resolution which I have to propose does not call for any extended remarks. I cannot, however, resist an inclination to comment upon the subject of the resolution just carried, which the importance of that resolution fully justifies. You have been called upon to tender your thanks to the Ministers and those members of the legislature who have supported the bill of reform. (Hear.) There is an opinion on this subject which I never could bring my mind to prove. It is said by many "We want measures, not men." Now it is true that the measures attempted or effected by particular public men, are those things by which we determine upon their claims to our respect and gratitude; but it is a cold and selfish policy to accept all which such men effect for their country and for mankind, without returning them our ardent affection and esteem. I never could separate in my mind men from their actions, nor consider that while I praised and admired the latter, it was right to withhold my personal affection from the former; and when we have before us the example of a man who commenced his political career as a reformer nearly forty years ago (for it was in 1793 that Earl, then the hon. Charles, Grey, presented his memorable petition for reform), who has consistently and perseveringly supported all great measures, who long refused office and powers, rather than compromise his principles; and when, more especially, we see that individual crowning his labours by bringing into Parliament, and so far successfully carrying forward a measure of reform,—I say, sir, that such a man is entitled not merely to the praise of his actions, but to our warmest and most fervent affection, and to our most

profound veneration. (Cheers.) It has been said by a preceding speaker, that the Ministers have succeeded in carrying the second reading of the bill by great *generalship, skill, and finesse.* Sir, I infer from the result of the second reading, that a great change has taken place in the opinions of the House of Peers, relative to the necessity for reform, and the unanimity of the public wish for that measure of reform which is now before Parliament. It augurs well for the ultimate success of that measure, that the second reading has been carried without any exercise of the royal prerogative in the creation of peers. It indicates that a great many of those who, when the bill was thrown out in the last session of Parliament, voted against it, have become convinced that the national desire for reform must be complied with, and will indeed be satisfied only with the *whole un mutilated bill.* It is nevertheless quite true, that there yet exists a strong and urgent necessity to create peers, either to carry the bill safely through the committee, or, on the third reading, to correct the mutilations it may undergo in the committee. Without such a creation, although the great principles of the bill may be preserved in the committee, yet will the provisions of the bill, by which its principles are to be carried into effect, be so altered that it will be sent back to the Commons, shorn of its honours, and no longer worthy of that ardent attachment which is now felt for it by the Commons and the nation. The will of the King, of his Ministers, and of the people, cannot be set at defiance; and all which Earl Grey has hitherto done indicates to my mind clearly and satisfactorily, that the bill must pass soon, and pass in *all its integrity and efficiency.* (Cheers.) It is to strengthen the Minister in his determination to carry the bill by the means *which he is known to possess,* that the address which has been approved by this meeting, is to be forwarded to him for presentation to his Majesty. The influence of the address will be in proportion to the number of signatures which may be attached to it; and I would beg, in conclusion, that each individual now present would sign the address so soon as it shall be laid for public signature, and induce as many as he may possess influence with to do the same." Mr. Plint moved the following resolution:—

"That the gentlemen who formed the sub-committee for preparing these resolutions be a committee for carrying them into effect, and that they have power to add to their number."

Which motion being seconded, was carried unanimously.

Mr. Marshall having vacated the chair, which was taken by John Clapham, Esq., Mr. Whitehead moved, and Mr. Benjamin Walker seconded the motion, that the thanks of this meeting are due to John Marshall, Esq., for his able and impartial conduct in the chair, which was put and carried by acclamation.

The meeting, consisting of about 4,000 per-

sons, and which had been convened at a notice little exceeding twelve hours, then dispersed in the utmost harmony.

## LONDON POLITICAL UNION.

The weekly meeting of the council of this union was held last night (Wednesday, 25th of April) at eight o'clock, at their rooms, Saville-house, Leicester-square, Mr. Taylor being in the chair.

The Secretary having informed the meeting of some donations to the Union—

### (THE REFORM BILL)

Mr. GEORGE ROGERS, at the request of the committee, rose to move the adoption of certain resolutions which had been considered worthy their attention, whereon to found the bases of motions to be proposed to a general meeting of the Union. To the propriety of calling this meeting on the 3d of May the committee assented, and to the spirit or tenor of the resolutions proposed for its adoption. It is high time that the nation should awake from its apathetic lethargy, and should exert itself to prevent the Reform Bill, now nearly anchored within the haven of their hopes, from being wrecked, or drifted again to the ocean of difficulty or despair. He certainly was one of those who had placed an entire reliance on the skill and sincerity of their pilot, and he had seen no reason to doubt his integrity, or to repent a misplaced confidence. Yet, though he had every respect for my Lord Grey, he was not so sanguine in the exertions of those who had tendered him their support; many of whom too much resembled wolves in sheep's clothing; or as suppliant tigers ready to pounce upon their prey. There was very little doubt that the knot of pseudo-reformers, who have lukewarmly given their support for the second reading of the bill, will seize every advantage or grappling with its contents, will exert all their influence in endeavouring to smother their reluctantly-adopted child, will strain every nerve to render its principles less democratic, and therefore less useful and less acceptable. At the last meeting of the council he had made some observations on what had fallen from my Lord Grey, in his reply on the second reading of the bill; and as those observations had been the subject of many adverse remarks in the daily papers since, he had procured the best edition of his speech, in order to set himself and his lordship right in the opinion of the people. "Although (says his lordship) I think fifty-six boroughs ought to be disfranchised—although I should be very sorry to see a less number disfranchised—and although I think the ten-pound franchise is not too great an extension of the qualification, still these provisions are no part of the principles of the bill." So says his lordship; and if he is correct, then have the people been misled. But his lordship continues, "And these provisions may be altered in perfect consistency with its principles."

That is, the principles—for its provisions are here its principles—may be altered in consistency with its principles." "But (resumes his lordship) it is said that I will not consent to any alteration. To this assertion I can only repeat the answer I made to a similar one last October,—it does not depend on me, but on your lordships. When the bill goes into committee, I shall certainly feel it to be my duty to resist any alterations which I now think inconsistent with the main object which this bill proposes to carry into effect. But if it can be shown that any injustice has inadvertently crept into any one of the schedules; if it can be shown that any qualification not so small as 10*l*. would be less open to fraud and abuse, I will not resist the correction of such circumstances." Now, what does my Lord Grey mean by injustice inadvertently having crept into the bill? An injustice, inadvertently, after all the combatings and canvassings, the ransackings and researches, the carping and hypercritical opposition of one party, and the too easy credulity or concession of another? And after the nights of toil and trouble which the House of Commons have spent over the subject in all its multifarious details, are now the provisions of the bill—nay, its very principles to be considered the subject of unjust inadvertence? Is not the ten-pound franchise one of the most important, not merely of the particulars of the bill, but actually of its principles; and shall it now be said that this standard was lightly adopted, or that it has inadvertently crept into the bill? And does it show a consistency in my Lord Grey, now to endeavour to escape from one of the most prominent features of the bill, by terming it not a principle, but an expedient provision that has crept inadvertently into the bill? If so, the pledges he has given cannot be redeemed, and the confidence of the people has been misplaced. It therefore becomes doubly essential to ascertain minutely what his principles are, and to watch vigilantly and narrowly the progress of the bill. The people must be aroused from their apparent apathy; and must be made not only to think, but to resolve for themselves. The lukewarmness of their friends should stimulate to increased exertion; and their attention should never be abstracted from the subject now postponed, partly, if not principally, to try the pulse of popular feeling on the great question. Other subjects have of late been introduced, such as the West India question, to divert the attention of the people from the prominent topic, just as a tub is thrown out to a whale intended to be harpooned. Now or never, should be the watchword of the people. He then moved the resolutions, an abstract of which was given in the *Chronicle* of Thursday last, which were then referred to the consideration of the committee, and were now adopted by that committee for the consideration of the council, preparatory to that of a general meeting.



They principally relate to the halcyon of public feeling produced by the operation of the Political Unions, in consequence of the confidence placed in his Majesty's Ministers, in their endeavours, though slow, to carry into effect the Reform Bill; but that, should that confidence have been misplaced, or the Bill be any way mutilated or rejected, the allayed feeling will be enraged into a hurricane of popular violence detrimental to society, and injurious particularly to the privileged orders. In order to arrest this storm, the people should exert their every energy to have the Bill passed un mutilated and soon.

Mr. THOMAS MURPHY could not attribute any feeling in him of confidence towards Lord Grey, much less towards any other of his Majesty's Ministers. In contrasting the conduct of Lord Grey on the present bill, he thought much apathy had been displayed, and much less energy than on the former occasion in October last. The advocacy on the present occasion was slight, hesitating, and dubious. The postponement of the bill is another argument for confidence. But if no confidence in the courage or sincerity of Lord Grey can be placed, can any be in the integrity of my Lord Melbourne by any who remember his gagging bills of 1816 and 1819, and his conduct as Irish secretary? He then adverted, at great length, to the particulars of the bill, which he said had been so determinedly advocated in the House of Commons by the members of the cabinet, and hoped it should meet the same treatment in the committee of the Lords. He said that though Lord Grey might, of himself, be willing, nay, anxious, to carry the measure, those with whom he was surrounded served as drawbacks on his powers, therefore on the confidence of the people. He is the acknowledged and avowed associate of those who have proved themselves to be the enemies of the people; some who are recreants in politics, and others known corruptionists; to one he extends the hand of fellowship, to another he succumbs in smiles of blandishment. The 10*l*. franchise he considered one of the most material parts of the bill, since it was better not to attempt universal suffrage in the present state of legislation and society, and that they could not get suffrage by scot and lot; let us, therefore, have the 10*l*. by hook or crook. He animadverted very severely on some of the nobility, particularly those of the cabinet; and on the conduct of Earl Grey in pensioning his family on the public.

Mr. W. D. SAUL, F.G.S., thought that the only effective and certain remedy for the people, in case of the failure of the bill, was in the non-payment of taxes. This would rouse the legislature to a sense of its injustice and danger. He felt confident of the result of such a procedure.

Mr. WALLIS entered into an elaborate and minute defence of Lord Grey, and said that the interpretation put upon his speech was not warranted by the context;

nor could any abandonment of principle be proved by a concession of particular details. And it might reasonably be thought, that though his lordship had said he was disposed to listen to terms of accommodation, or a modification of parts, if any injustice had inadvertently crept in unnoticed in any former discussions; yet he had guarded himself against any misrepresentation by what he added, that he was not only fully prepared, but resolutely determined to resist any alteration of principle, though he might submit to an amendment of a part. The main principles of the bill—the enfranchisement and disfranchisement of a particular number of boroughs or places, and the terms of franchise, were not abandoned by his lordship; and a concession of *minutiae* could not be considered an abandonment of principle or pledge. So, too, he defended strenuously the conduct of Lord Grey with regard to the creation of peers—the mode and time of which, or the propriety or necessity of which, should be left to his lordship, who was or ought to be aware of how far he might with safety depend on the means at present in his power. He did not like a creation of peers for any express purpose; it would establish a dangerous precedent. Lord Grey had a moral and political fame to maintain; and he saw nothing to warrant the suspicion that he would wantonly risk that reputation for which he has been contending during a long career of political turbulence. He had proved his steadfastness and integrity formerly, and he has maintained them entire.

Mr. DANIEL WAKEFIELD also defended the character of Lord Grey, both with regard to his protection of the bill, and of his own relations. He thought the private character of any public man should not be too closely scrutinized. Success would hold his Lordship up to the admiration of the present, and the veneration of future ages; and treachery or neglect would procure execrations and contempt.

Mr. CARTWRIGHT THOMAS, in warmly advocating the part of Lord Grey, said it would be bad for his lordship to rely on the people as his sheet anchor; for they were as a vane, that would turn round by every wind, and would desert him at his utmost need. (Cries of "No, no.") The people wish the bill to be carried; but they are lukewarm in their exertions, and would not support determined measures in case of failure. (Cries of "false!") I may be told it is false, but I am persuaded that it is too true. I for one will not pay any taxes should the bill be abandoned or rejected. (Cheers.) But I fear I shall be a sufferer alone, and that the great mass of the nation will look on with fear or a pathetic indifference. (Loud cries of "No, no!"—"false, false!"—we are all determined to do the same!") I am afraid we will be allowed to work out our own independence; and that while the lower classes of the people might anxiously put into practice what they seem determined on, the upper and middle classes would look on unconcerned but for their own share of the spoil. I fear that the

words of Blackwood will be verified—that there will be disturbance, some bloodshed, and that things will be permitted to return to their former course. (Loud cries of “No, never!”) He hoped not; but that the nation would work soon, and securely, and peaceably, its own independence.

Mr. GALLOWAY neither despaired of nor doubted the determination, not merely of the lower classes of society, but of the middle and many of the upper. And as for Mr. Thomas thinking he would be alone in the non-payment of taxes, he begged leave to assure him, not only were others present who would be in the same situation, but that thousands in the city were firmly resolved on the subject. He for one was similarly determined; but he could but think that the resolution would be rendered unnecessary, as he had every hope that the measure would be carried. He knew Lord Grey to be both sincere and determined; but the people must make allowance for his age and his opponents; he cannot act now at seventy with that energy he displayed at forty. A calculation had been made, proving that a majority of six for the second reading had been foreseen; yet even had there been but one it might have been more pleasing, for then his ordship might have resorted to the powers with which he had been entrusted. But his forbearance of the peer creation before the second reading of the bill was wise and prudent; for of those who supported him in the former, thirty would have opposed the present; and of those who now supported, thirty would have been firmly against; thus he would have lost sixty of his present supporters. But he knew that the first motion in the committee would be, that fifty-six be the number of boroughs in Schedule A; and that, if this should be rejected, then the peers will be made. But, though confidence might be placed, it should not be without an exertion on the part of the people.

Messrs. Redman and Detrosier followed on the same side, and Major Revell spoke energetically concerning stopping the supplies, rather than the non-payment of taxes. This was illegal—that constitutional; and should be recommended to, nay, forced upon the House of Commons.

Professor ARNOTT also vindicated the expressions of Lord Grey, who could not have said otherwise but as a dictator or the satellite of a despot; as one who came to decide, not to deliberate.

Mr. J. H. POWELL had been in the House of Lords, and thought that the insinuated threat of the creation of peers by Lord Grey, if found requisite, was a sufficient proof of courage and sincerity, and had been so met with general cheering by the advocates of the measure, and as a warning by its opponents.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted; and it was ordered that the committee prepare an address to his Majesty to exert his prerogative, if necessary, to secure the Bill, and also a petition to the House of Peers

for the consideration of a General Meeting to be held on Thursday, the 30th of May.

The council adjourned at a late hour.

## RESOLUTIONS.

RESOLVED,—That the National Political Union was established at a time of unexampled excitement of political feeling and of great diversity of opinion respecting the Reform Bill, which had been then rejected by the Peers.

That, relying on the pledge of Lord Grey that he would be no party to provisions less efficient than those contained in the bill tendered on his behalf by Lord John Russell, this Union has steadily given its support to the bill as a whole, endeavoured to persuade, and to a considerable extent has succeeded in persuading, the ardent but honest advocates of more extended suffrage to forego their opposition, and unite in support of the Reform Bill which his Majesty's Ministers had proposed.

That, knowing the difficulty with which this sacrifice of honest determination has been obtained, this Council learn with dread the probability that important provisions of the bill will be either mutilated or rejected, to which should Earl Grey consent, the bond of agreement between the people and the noble Earl will be broken and set at naught.

That, in this new extremity, this Council warn the aristocracy generally, and his Majesty's Ministers more particularly, that a mutilation of those provisions of the bill which are important to the industrious classes, will produce consequences equally fatal with those which could not fail to follow a rejection of the bill.

That the storm of political feeling which has in great measure been allayed by the various unions, will rage with violence; and that there is reason to expect that a stop to the payment of taxation and other obligations in society will take place, the consequences of which, it may safely be predicted, would be the utter extinction of the privileged orders.

That, to avert the calamities which would be occasioned by so sudden a change, and to promote a peaceful effectual reform while there is yet time, it is necessary that every man in the country should use all the means in his power in every way he can to promote the passing of the Reform Bill through the Lords' House in the state it has been sent from the Commons.

That the Business Committee be instructed to prepare an address to his Majesty, praying him to adopt all constitutional means in his power to ensure the passing of the Reform Bill unamutilated, and also a petition to the House of Lords, founded upon the foregoing resolutions, for the consideration of a general meeting of the members of the Union, and that the said meeting be held on Thursday, May 3d, at eight o'clock in the evening.



From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,

FRIDAY, APRIL 20, 1832.

## INSOLVENTS.

**ALLMAND**, R., Wem, Shropshire, victualler.  
**ATKINSON**, J., Cockermouth, Cumberland, slate-manufacturer.

## BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED.

**REYNOLDS**, J., Royston, Herts, carrier.

## BANKRUPTS.

**BORSLEY**, J., Lower Grosvenor-place, boot and shoe-maker.

**CHALKEN**, W., Warwick-square, Kensington, boarding-house-keeper.

**CROOKS**, G., Anglesea-pl., Limehouse, baker.

**GADBURY**, W.B., Leadenhall-street, woollen-draper.

**GREENACRE**, J., Brompton, builder.

**HALL**, C. jun., Walsall, Staffordshire, brush-maker.

**JAMESON**, J., Muscovy-ct., wine-merchant.

**RAMSAY**, T.G., and S. Lancaster, Mark-lane, wine-merchants.

**ROOKER**, F., Chorlton-row and Manchester, yarn-dealer.

**TALBOT**, W., Cambridge, watch-maker.

**VIZE**, J., Crawford-street, Bryanstone-square, stationer.

**WILLIAMS**, R., Tottenham-ct.-road, chemist.

**WALKER**, T., Burslem, Staffordshire, iron-founder.

## SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

**HARVIE**, T., Glasgow, merchant.

TUESDAY, APRIL 24, 1832.

## INSOLVENT.

**BONSFIELD**, S., Heaton Norris, Lancashire, saddler.

## BANKRUPTS.

**BRICE**, E., Bristol, cabinet-maker.

**GABORN**, G., Horncastle, Lincolnshire, inn-keeper.

**DAVIES**, E., Sheffield, draper.

**GARDNER**, J.L., Little Tower-st., wine-mer.

**GILL**, W., Upper-st., Islington, linen-draper.

**KAYE**, W., Chorlton-row, Lancashire, joiner.

**LEWIS**, R., Portsea, timber-merchant.

**M'INTIRE**, J., and R. Welsh, Cartlett, Pembroke-shire, coach-builders.

**THOMAS**, W., Park-lane, Piccadilly, livery-stable-keeper.

**TOWNSEND**, W., BRIGHTHELMSTONE, Sussex, brewer.

**WELLS**, T.G., New Park-street, Southwark, victualler.

## SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

**MACKENZIE**, T., Dundonnell, Edinburgh underwriter.

**MORRISON** and Ewing, Glasgow, cotton-yarn-agents.

**RATHBONE**, S. and R., Portobello, potters.

## LONDON MARKETS.

**MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, APRIL 23.**—Our supplies, since this day se'nnight, of wheat from all quarters, and English, Irish, and foreign flour collectively, as also English and Scotch malt, moderately good; of Irish oats, great; of English and Scotch oats, English and foreign barley, as well as beans, peas, and seeds, from all quarters, very limited.

In this day's market, which, for that of a holiday Monday, was tolerably well attended both by London and country buyers, the trade was, owing to advanced prices having been for most articles stiffly demanded, with wheat, oats, beans, peas, rye, seeds, malt, and flour, very dull; with barley, on account of the shortness of its supply, somewhat brisk, at fully last Monday's quotations.

|                       |              |
|-----------------------|--------------|
| Wheat .....           | 53s. to 67s. |
| Rye .....             | 31s. to 33s. |
| Barley .....          | 25s. to 34s. |
| — fine .....          | 35s. to 42s. |
| Peas, White .....     | 35s. to 39s. |
| — Boilers .....       | 39s. to 44s. |
| — Grey .....          | 33s. to 37s. |
| Beans, Old .....      | 34s. to 36s. |
| — Tick .....          | 33s. to 37s. |
| Oats, Potatoe .....   | 26s. to 29s. |
| — Poland .....        | 24s. to 27s. |
| — Feed .....          | 20s. to 25s. |
| Flour, per sack ..... | 55s. to 60s. |

## PROVISIONS.

|   |
|---|
| Bacon, Middles, new, 44s. to 49s. per cwt.    |
| — Sides, new ... 48s. to 52s.                 |
| Pork, India, new ... 130s. 0d. to —s.         |
| Pork, Mess, new ... 75s. 0d. to —s. per barl. |
| Butter, Belfast ... 80s. to 84s. per cwt.     |
| — Carlow ... 80s. to 86s.                     |
| — Cork ... 80s. to 84s.                       |
| — Limerick ... 80s. to 84s.                   |
| — Waterford ... 70s. to 78s.                  |
| — Dublin ... 74s. to —s.                      |
| Cheese, Cheshire ... 54s. to 74s.             |
| — Gloucester, Double ... 56s. to 62s.         |
| — Gloucester, Single ... 42s. to 56s.         |
| — Edam ... 49s. to 54s.                       |
| — Gouda ... 48s. to 50s.                      |
| Hams, Irish ... 56s. to 58s.                  |

## SMITHFIELD.—April 23.

This day's supply, though short for that of the generality of Monday, was, for that of a holiday Monday, moderately good; and the trade, throughout, exceedingly dull; with beef and veal at a depression of about 2d., lamb full 6d. per stone; with mutton and pork at Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 2,224; sheep and lambs, 15,550; calves, 8; pigs, 120.

## MARK-LANE.—Friday, April 27.

The arrivals this week are large, and the prices 1s. lower than on Monday.

## THE FUNDS.

|   |     |     |     |     |     |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 3 per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thur. |     |     |     |     |     |
| Cons. Ann. } —                                | 85½ | 84½ | 84½ | 84½ | 85½ |

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